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THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES

THE
SECRET SOCIETIES
OF ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES

A Comprehensive Account of upwards of One Hundred and Sixty Secret Organisations—Religious, Political, and Social—from the most Remote Ages down to the Present Time

Embracing the Mysteries of Ancient India, China, Japan, Egypt, Mexico, Peru, Greece, and Scandinavia, the Cabbalists, Early Christians, Heretics, Assassins, Thugs, Templars, the Vehm and Inquisition, Mystics, Rosicrucians, Illuminati, Freemasons, Skopzi, Camorristi, Carbonari, Nihilists, Fenians, French, Spanish,

And other Mysterious Sects

BY

CHARLES WILLIAM HECKETHORN

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BOOK XI

FREEMASONRY

SECRET SOCIETIES

FREEMASONRY

I

THE LEGEND OF THE TEMPLE

383. *Ancestry of Hiram Abiff.*—Solomon having determined on the erection of the temple, collected artificers, divided them into companies, and put them under the command of Adoniram or Hiram Abiff, the architect sent to him by his friend and ally Hiram, king of Tyre. According to mythical tradition, the ancestry of the builders of the mystical temple was as follows: One of the Elohim, or primitive genii, married Eve and had a son called Cain (120); whilst Jehovah or Adonai, another of the Elohim, created Adam and united him with Eve to bring forth the family of Abel, to whom were subjected the sons of Cain, as a punishment for the transgression of Eve. Cain, though industriously cultivating the soil, yet derived little produce from it, whilst Abel leisurely tended his flocks. Adonai rejected the gifts and sacrifices of Cain, and stirred up strife between the sons of the Elohim, generated out of fire, and the sons formed out of the earth only. Cain killed Abel, and Adonai, pursuing his sons, subjected to the sons of Abel the noble family that invented the arts and diffused science.[1] Enoch, a son of Cain, taught men to hew stones, construct edifices, and form civil societies. Irad and Mehujael, his son and grandson, set boundaries to the waters and fashioned cedars into beams. Methusael, another of his descendants, invented the sacred characters, the books of Tau and the symbolic T, by which the workers descended from the genii of fire recognised each other. Lamech, whose prophecies are inexplicable to the

[1] In the Puránas the ingenuity of the descendants of Cain, and the degree of perfection to which they carried the arts of civil life, are highly extolled.

profane, was the father of Jabal, who first taught men how to dress camels' skins; of Jubal, who discovered the harp; of Naamah, who discovered the arts of spinning and weaving; of Tubal-Cain, who first constructed a furnace, worked in metals, and dug subterranean caves in the mountains to save his race during the Deluge; but it perished nevertheless, and only Tubal-Cain and his son, the sole survivors of the glorious and gigantic family, came out alive. The wife of Ham, second son of Noah, thought the son of Tubal-Cain handsomer than the sons of men, and he became progenitor of Nimrod, who taught his brethren the art of hunting, and founded Babylon. Adoniram, the descendant of Tubal-Cain, seemed called by God to lead the militia of the free men, connecting the sons of fire with the sons of thought, progress, and truth.

384. *Hiram, Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba.*—By Hiram was erected a marvellous building, the Temple of Solomon. He raised the golden throne of Solomon, most beautifully wrought, and built many other glorious edifices. But, melancholy amidst all his greatness, he lived alone, understood and loved by few, hated by many, and among others, by Solomon, envious of his genius and glory. Now the fame of the wisdom of Solomon spread to the remotest ends of the earth; and Balkis, the Queen of Sheba, came to Jerusalem to greet the great king and behold the marvels of his reign. She found Solomon seated on a throne of gilt cedar wood, arrayed in cloth of gold, so that at first she seemed to behold a statue of gold with hands of ivory. Solomon received her with every kind of festive preparation, and led her to behold his palace and then the grand works of the temple, and the queen was lost in admiration. The king was captivated by her beauty, and in a short time offered her his hand, which the queen, pleased at having conquered this proud heart, accepted. But on again visiting the temple, she repeatedly desired to see the architect who had wrought such wondrous things. Solomon delayed as long as possible presenting Hiram Abiff to the queen, but at last he was obliged to do so. The mysterious artificer was brought before her, and cast on the queen a look that penetrated her very heart. Having recovered her composure, she questioned and defended him against the ill-will and rising jealousy of the king. When she wished to see the countless host of workmen that wrought at the temple, Solomon protested the impossibility of assembling them all at once; but Hiram, leaping on a stone to be better seen, with his right hand

described in the air the symbolical Tau, and immediately the men hastened from all parts of the works into the presence of their master. At this the queen wondered greatly, and secretly repented of the promise she had given the king, for she felt herself in love with the mighty architect. Solomon set himself to destroy this affection, and to prepare his rival's humiliation and ruin. For this purpose he employed three fellow-crafts, envious of Hiram, because he had refused to raise them to the degree of masters on account of their want of knowledge and their idleness. They were Fanor, a Syrian and a mason; Amru, a Phœnician and a carpenter; and Metusael, a Hebrew and a miner. The black envy of these three projected that the casting of the brazen sea, which was to raise the glory of Hiram to its utmost height, should turn out a failure. A young workman, Benoni, discovered the plot and revealed it to Solomon, thinking that sufficient. The day for the casting arrived, and Balkis was present. The doors that restrained the molten metal were opened, and torrents of liquid fire poured into the vast mould wherein the brazen sea was to assume its form. But the burning mass ran over the edges of the mould, and flowed like lava over the adjacent places. The terrified crowd fled from the advancing stream of fire. Hiram, calm, like a god, endeavoured to arrest its advance with ponderous columns of water, but without success. The water and the fire mixed, and the struggle was terrible; the water rose in dense steam and fell down in the shape of fiery rain, spreading terror and death. The dishonoured artificer needed the sympathy of a faithful heart; he sought Benoni, but in vain; the proud youth perished in endeavouring to prevent the horrible catastrophe when he found that Solomon had done nothing to hinder it.

Hiram could not withdraw himself from the scene of his discomfiture. Oppressed with grief, he heeded not the danger, he remembered not that this ocean of fire might speedily engulph him; he thought of the Queen of Sheba, who came to admire and congratulate him on a great triumph, and who saw nothing but a terrible disaster. Suddenly he heard a strange voice coming from above, and crying, "Hiram, Hiram, Hiram!" He raised his eyes and beheld a gigantic human figure. The apparition continued, "Come, my son, be without fear, I have rendered thee incombustible; cast thyself into the flames." Hiram threw himself into the furnace, and where others would have found death, he tasted ineffable delights; nor could he, drawn by an irresistible

force, leave it, and asked him that drew him into the abyss, "Whither do you take me?" "Into the centre of the earth, into the soul of the world, into the kingdom of great Cain, where liberty reigns with him. There the tyrannous envy of Adonai ceases; there can we, despising his anger, taste the fruit of the tree of knowledge; there is the home of thy fathers." "Who then am I, and who art thou?" "I am the father of thy fathers, I am the son of Lamech, I am Tubal-Cain."

Tubal-Cain introduced Hiram into the sanctuary of fire, where he expounded to him the weakness of Adonai and the base passions of that god, the enemy of his own creature whom he condemned to the inexorable law of death, to avenge the benefits the genii of fire had bestowed on him. Hiram was led into the presence of the author of his race, Cain. The angel of light that begat Cain was reflected in the beauty of this son of love, whose noble and generous mind roused the envy of Adonai. Cain related to Hiram his experiences, sufferings, and misfortunes, brought upon him by the implacable Adonai. Presently he heard the voice of him who was the offspring of Tubal-Cain and his sister Naamah: "A son shall be born unto thee whom thou shalt indeed not see, but whose numerous descendants shall perpetuate thy race, which, superior to that of Adam, shall acquire the empire of the world; for many centuries they shall consecrate their courage and genius to the service of the ever-ungrateful race of Adam, but at last the best shall become the strongest, and restore on the earth the worship of fire. Thy sons, invincible in thy name, shall destroy the power of kings, the ministers of the Adonais' tyranny. Go, my son, the genii of fire are with thee!" Hiram was restored to the earth. Tubal-Cain before quitting him gave him the hammer with which he himself had wrought great things, and said to him: "Thanks to this hammer and the help of the genii of fire, thou shalt speedily accomplish the work left unfinished through man's stupidity and malignity." Hiram did not hesitate to test the wonderful efficacy of the precious instrument, and the dawn saw the great mass of bronze cast. The artist felt the most lively joy, the queen exulted. The people came running up, astounded at this secret power which in one night had repaired everything.

385. *Murder of Hiram.*—One day the queen, accompanied by her maids, went beyond Jerusalem, and there encountered Hiram, alone and thoughtful. The encounter was decisive, they mutually confessed their love. Had-Had, the bird who

filled with the queen the office of messenger of the genii of fire, seeing Hiram in the air make the sign of the mystic T, flew around his head and settled on his wrist. At this Sarahil, the nurse of the queen, exclaimed: "The oracle is fulfilled. Had-Had recognises the husband which the genii of fire destined for Balkis, whose love alone she dare accept!" They hesitated no longer, but mutually pledged their vows, and deliberated how Balkis could retract the promise given to the king. Hiram was to be the first to quit Jerusalem; the queen, impatient to rejoin him in Arabia, was to elude the vigilance of the king, which she accomplished by withdrawing from his finger, while he was overcome with wine, the ring wherewith she had plighted her troth to him. Solomon hinted to the fellow-crafts that the removal of his rival, who refused to give them the master's word, would be acceptable unto himself; so when the architect came into the temple he was assailed and slain by them. Before his death, however, he had time to throw the golden triangle which he wore round his neck, and on which was engraven the master's word, into a deep well. They wrapped up his body, carried it to a solitary hill and buried it, planting over the grave a sprig of acacia.

Hiram not having made his appearance for seven days, Solomon, against his inclination, but to satisfy the clamour of the people, was forced to have him searched for. The body was found by three masters, and they, suspecting that he had been slain by the three fellow-crafts for refusing them the master's word, determined nevertheless for greater security to change the word, and that the first word accidentally uttered on raising the body should thenceforth be the word. In the act of raising it, the skin came off the body, so that one of the masters exclaimed "*Macbenach!*" ("the flesh is off the bones," or the "brother is smitten"), and this word became the sacred word of the masters' degree. The three fellow-crafts were traced, but rather than fall into the hands of their pursuers, they committed suicide, and their heads were brought to Solomon. The triangle not having been found on the body of Hiram, it was sought for and at last discovered in the well into which the architect had cast it. The king caused it to be placed on a triangular altar erected in a secret vault, built under the most retired part of the temple. The triangle was further concealed by a cubical stone, on which had been inscribed the sacred law. The vault, the existence of which was only known to the twenty-seven elect, was then walled up.

II

ORIGIN AND TRADITIONS

386. *The First Masons.*—All nations, all states, all corporations, to increase their power and deduce from above their *raison d'être*, attribute to themselves a very ancient origin. This wish must be all the stronger in a society altogether ideal and moral, living the life of principles, which needs rather to seem to be, not coeval with, but anterior and superior to all others. Hence the claim set up by Freemasonry of being, not contemporary with the creation of man, but with that of the world; because light was before man, and prepared for him a suitable habitation, and light is the scope and symbol of Freemasonry. Lest non-Masonic readers should think we are joking as regards Masonic assertions concerning the antiquity of the craft, we will quote from two Masonic writers, one more than a century old, and one quite of recent date: Edward Spratt, in his "Book of Constitutions for the Use of Lodges in Ireland," 1751, makes Adam the first Mason, who "even after his expulsion from paradise retained great knowledge, especially in geometry." Dr. J. A. Weisse, in "The Obelisk and Freemasonry," published in 1880, says: "Freemasonry commenced from the Creation, and was established by the family of Seth. The Masonic apron originated from the covering or apron of fig-leaves, adopted by Adam and Eve after the Fall." Need I quote more?

Now in the Introduction (6, 7) I have stated that there was from the very first appearance of man on the earth a highly favoured and civilised race, possessing a full knowledge of the laws and properties of nature, and which knowledge was embodied in mystical figures and schemes, such as were deemed appropriate emblems for its preservation and propagation. These figures and schemes are preserved in Masonry, but not in the pseudo-Masonry of the majority of craft members. The truest Masons at the present day are found without the lodge. I shall endeavour in these

pages as much as possible to teach Masons the real truths hidden under the symbols and enigmatical forms, which, without a key, appear but as absurd and debasing rites and ceremonies. The aim of all the secret societies of which accounts have been as yet or will be given in this work, except of those which were purely political or anti-social, was to preserve such knowledge as still survived, or to recover what had been lost. And since Freemasonry is, so to speak, the résumé of the teachings of all those societies, dogmas in accordance with one or more of those taught in the ancient mysteries and other associations are to be found in Masonry; hence also it is impossible to attribute its origin to one or other specific society preceding it. Freemasonry is—or rather ought to be—the compendium of all primitive and accumulated human knowledge.

387. *Periods of Freemasonry.*—Masonic writers generally divide the history of the Order into two periods, the first comprising the time from its assumed foundation to the beginning of the last century, during which the Order admitted only masons, *i.e. operative* masons and artificers in some way connected with architecture. The second or present period, they denominate the period of *Speculative* Masonry, when the Order no longer chooses its members only amongst men engaged in the raising of material structures, but receives into its ranks all who are willing to assist in building a spiritual temple, the temple of universal harmony and knowledge. Yet persons not working masons had ere then been admitted, for the records of a lodge at Warrington, as old as 1648, note the admission of Colonel Mainwaring and the great antiquary Ashmole. Charles I., Charles II., and James II. also were initiated. But from what has been said above, it follows that true Masonry always was *speculative*, and that to deduce its origin from the ancient Dionysiac or any other kindred college is only partly correct. The name "masonic" was adopted by the society on its reconstruction in the last century, because the brotherhood of builders who erected the magnificent cathedrals and other buildings that arose during the Middle Ages had lodges, degrees, landmarks, secret signs, and passwords, such as the builders of the temple of Solomon are said to have made use of. The Freemasons have also frequently been said to be descended from the Knights Templars, and thus to have for their object to avenge the destruction of that Order, and so to be dangerous to Church and State; yet this assertion was repudiated as early as 1535 in the "Charter of Cologne," wherein the

Masons call themselves the Brethren of St. John, because St. John the Baptist was the forerunner of the Light. According to the same document, the name of Freemasons was first given to the Brethren chiefly in Flanders, because some of them had been instrumental in erecting in the province of Hainault hospitals for persons suffering from St. Vitus's dance. And though some etymologists pretend the name to be derived from *massa*, a club, with which the doorkeeper was armed to drive away uninitiated intruders, we can only grant this etymology on the principle enunciated by Voltaire, that in etymology vowels go for very little, and consonants for nothing at all. The derivation from *maison* is as probable as any other that is alleged.

388. *Freemasonry derived from many Sources.*—But considering that Freemasonry is a tree the roots of which spread through so many soils, it follows that traces thereof must be found in its fruit; that its language and ritual should retain much of the various sects and institutions it has passed through before arriving at their present state, and in Masonry we meet with Indian, Egyptian, Jewish, and Christian ideas, terms, and symbols.

389. *True History of Masonry.*—The plain history of Freemasonry, without the varnish and tinsel Masonic writers have bedizened it with, may be summed up as follows:—

In antiquity there were corporations of architects and engineers, who undertook the building of temples and stadia; the "Dionysiacs" in Greece, the "Collegium Muriorum" in Rome were such. They were the prototypes of the associations of masons, builders, carpenters, who in the Middle Ages flourished, chiefly in Germany and England. These, sometimes numbering six to eight hundred members, made contracts with monks, chapters, and other ecclesiastical authorities for the erection of cathedrals or churches. Eventually they made themselves independent of the Church, and in the thirteenth century they formed an extensive building association, originating at Cologne, and having lodges, as they called the directing members, at Strasbourg, Vienna, Cologne, and Zürich. There were other lodges, but these were the most important. They called themselves Free masons, and had ceremonies of initiation. Towards the end of the sixteenth century non-operative masons were admitted into the fraternity, who were called "accepted" Masons; they included men distinguished for learning or high position. Thus the work in the lodges became more symbolical than operative. The really working masons and builders

gradually dispersed, and the accepted masons, whose expectations of being initiated into esoteric knowledge in the lodges were disappointed, withdrew from them, so that in 1717 there were only four lodges in London, which Dr. Desaguliers, James Anderson, and George Payne formed into a Grand Lodge, with which modern Freemasonry, purely symbolical, though retaining the technical terms of architecture, may be said to begin.

The fraternity was soon persecuted; the Popes, beginning with Clement XII., and ending with the present one, cast their thunderbolts at it; despotic rulers tried to suppress it. Of course the Masons themselves to a great extent invited this persecution by the mystery in which they attempted to shroud their principles and proceedings, as also by the introduction of the "high degrees." The original Masons had confined themselves to the three degrees existing among operative builders—apprentice, fellow-craft, and master. But these did not satisfy the vanity of some of the aristocratic members, or the ambition of such as wished to use the Order for party purposes. The chevalier Andreas Ramsay, a partisan of the exiled Stuarts, who asserted the Freemasons to be descended from the Crusaders, first gave the impulse to the starting of high degrees, in which political objects were aimed at, and which, after the country of the Stuarts, were called Scotch degrees. They were greatly multiplied, and the pursuit of these party purposes, of superstitious rites, and of personal vanity, invested every one with still increasing mysteries. At last they fell into the hands of impostors and adventurers, such as, for instance, Cagliostro.

In Germany the Order was made use of by three parties—Reactionaries, Revolutionaries, and knightly fanatics. The Reactionaries founded Rosicrucianism, in which magic, astrology, alchemy, spiritism, and superstition in general occupied its cheats and dupes, opposing religious, political, and scientific progress. The Revolutionaries, by means of the Illuminati, who insinuated themselves into the Masonic order, endeavoured to bring about a new political and religious era. Knightly fanaticism was transplanted from France into Germany by the well-intentioned but visionary Baron Hund, who about the middle of the last century founded the Masonic system of the so-called Strict Observance (435), which followed the lines of the Knights Templars, from whom Hund wished to derive the Masonic order; we shall see that at the Congress of Wilhelmsbad (441) this assertion was

negatived. The mystery of the ritual, and the splendour of some of the rites, gained Freemasonry many adherents in France, where the lodges were at last united under a Grand Lodge, called the Grand Orient, the first Grand Master of which was the Duke of Chartres, afterwards Philippe Egalité. Napoleon, when in power, appointed his brother Joseph Grand Master (444).

III

RITES AND CUSTOMS

390. *List of Rites.*—Anciently, that is, before the rise of modern Masonry at the beginning of the last century, there was but one rite, that of the "Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons," or blue or symbolic Masonry; but vanity, fancy, or interest soon led to the introduction of many new rites or modifications of the three ancient degrees. The following are the names of the rites now practised in Europe and America:—

I. York rite, or Craft Masonry, of which an account will be given.—In America it consists of seven degrees: The first three as in this country; 4. Mark Master; 5. Past Master; 6. Most Excellent Master; 7. Holy Royal Arch. All these also obtain in this country; the Royal Arch, being the most important, will be treated of in full (405 *et seq.*).

II. French or Modern rite.—It consists of seven degrees: The first three the same as in Craft Masonry; 4. Elect; 5. Scotch Master; 6. Knight of the East; 7. Rose Croix. They are all astronomical.

III. Ancient and Accepted Scotch rite.—It was organised in its present form in France early in the last century, though it derives its title from the claim of its founders that it was originally instituted in Scotland. It is, next to the York rite, the most widely diffused throughout the Masonic world. The administrative power is vested in Supreme Grand Councils, and the rite consists of thirty-three degrees, of which the 12th, Grand Master Architect; the 18th, Prince Rose-Croix; and the 30th, Grand Elect Knight of Kadosh, are the most interesting, and particulars of which will be given under separate heads.

IV. Philosophic Scotch rite.

V. Primitive Scotch rite, practised in Belgium.

VI. Ancient Reformed rite.

VII. Fessler's rite.

VIII. Rite of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes at Berlin.

IX. Rite of Perfection.
X. Rite of Misraim (418–42).
XI. Rite of the Order of the Temple.
XII. Swedish rite.
XIII. Reformed rite.
XIV. Schroeder's rite.
XV. Rite of Swedenborg (see 264).

XVI. Rite of Zinzendorf.—Count Zinzendorf, physician of the Emperor Charles VI., invented this rite, which was a modification of the Illuminism of Avignon, adding to it the mysteries of Swedenborg. His system consisted of seven degrees, divided into three sections: 1. Blue Masonry; 2. Red Masonry; 3. Capitular Masonry. The rite was never introduced into this country.

XVII. Eclectic rite.—This was established at Frankfurt in 1783 by Baron de Knigge, for the purpose of checking the spread of the *hautes grades*, or philosophic rites, which were increasing excessively. Eclectic Masonry acknowledged the three symbolic degrees only, but permitted each lodge to select at its option any of the higher degrees, provided it did not interfere with the uniformity of the first three. But the founder was disappointed in his expectations—the high degrees continued to flourish, and but few Eclectic lodges ever existed.

391. *Masonic Customs.*—Some Masonic peculiarities may conveniently be mentioned here. Freemasons frequently attend in great state at the laying of the foundation stones of public buildings; they follow a master to the grave, clothed with all the paraphernalia of their respective degrees; they date from the year of light. The Knights of the Sun, the 28th degree of the Scotch rite, acknowledge no era, but always write their date with seven noughts, 0,000,000. No one can be admitted into the Masonic order before the age of twenty-one, but an exception is made in this country and in France in favour of the sons of Masons, who may be initiated at the age of eighteen. Such a person is called a *Lewis* in England, and a *Louveteau* in France. This latter word signifies a young wolf; and the reader will remember that in the mysteries of Isis the candidate was made to wear the mask of a wolf's head. Hence a wolf and a candidate in these mysteries were synonymous. Macrobius, in his "Saturnalia," says that the ancients perceived a relationship between the sun, the great symbol of those mysteries, and a wolf; for as the flocks of sheep and cattle disperse at the sight of the wolf, so the flocks of stars disappear at the

approach of the sun's light. We have seen in the account of the French Workmen's Unions (369) that the sons of Solomon still call themselves wolves. The adoption of the *louveteau* into the lodge takes place with a ceremony resembling that of baptism. The temple is covered with flowers, incense is burnt, and the godfather is enjoined not only to provide for the bodily wants of the new-born member, but also to bring him up in the school of truth and justice. The child receives a new name, generally that of a virtue, such as Veracity, Devotion, Beneficence; the godfather pronounces for him the oath of apprentice, in which degree he is received into the Order, which, in case he should become an orphan, supports and establishes him in life. In the United States the rights of a *lewis* do not exist.

392. *Masonic Alphabet.*—The Masonic alphabet preserves the angular character of primitive alphabets. Thirteen characters (9+4) compose the Masonic system of writing. Hence all the sounds can only be represented by means of lines and points, in the following manner:—

a.b	*c.d*	*e.f*
g.h	*i.l*	*m.n*
o.p	*q.r*	*s.t*

The letter *a* is written ⌋; the same sign with a dot in it, ⌋·, means *b*. The sign > means *u*, and with a dot ⋗, *v*. Masonic abbreviations are always indicated by three dots, placed triangularly; thus, brother is abbreviated B.∴ Lodge is written L.∴ or [·].∴; in the plural LL.∴ or ⧉.∴ Our common alphabet has an equally simple origin, as well as the Arabic numerals; they are all contained in the figure—

A. b or B, C, d or D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P or P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, X, Y, Z, O, I, Z, Ʒ, Δ, S, Δ or b, 7, X, Q,

IV

THE LODGE

393. *Interior Arrangement of Lodge.*—The arrangement of the lodge varies and will vary according to periods and degrees, but certain general rules are always followed in its construction. In an ancient French catechism the lodge is thus described: The lodge must have a vaulted ceiling, painted blue and covered with golden stars, to represent the heavens. The floor is called a mosaic floor; the term "mosaic" being derived from Moses, *i.e.* "drawn from the water," because by its variegated colours it represents the earth as covered with flowers again after the withdrawal of the waters of the Nile. There are three windows—one east, one west, and a third south. There must also be two or three antechambers, so that the profane may catch no glimpse of what is going on in the lodge; and if some stranger should nevertheless intrude, the master exclaims, "It rains!" and the lodge is *ipso facto* dissolved. The lodge should be always hung with black; the brethren take their places according to their rank; the grand master in the east, the master in the south, and the novices at the north, because they cannot yet stand the heat of the sun, which only the initiated can. When an apprentice is made, the lodge is brightly illuminated. The grand master, seated in his place, wears on his neck, appended to a large ribbon, a small square and compasses; before him stands a table, on which lie the Gospel of St. John and a small hammer. At his side are the two stewards, the first of whom wears a level and the second a plumb of gold or silver. The masters and fellow-crafts stand around with the apprentices, all wearing white aprons of lamb's skin, and each carrying a naked sword. On the floor are designed figures, representing the steps that led to Solomon's temple, and the two pillars Jachin and Boaz, but which in reality symbolise the summer and winter solstices, the pillars of Hercules, the two pillars of Seth. Above are seen the sun, moon, and a large star. In the midst of the

floor is a coffin, in which lies a man apparently dead, with his face turned upward and covered with his white apron smeared with blood, one hand resting on his breast, and the other extended towards the knee. In the corners of the room are substances easily combustible, such as sulphur, to kindle a fire instantaneously. This apparatus is somewhat altered when a fellow-craft or a master is to be made.

394. *Modern Lodge.*—The modern lodge is a large square hall, always, if possible, situated due east and west. Upon a daïs ascended by three steps, opposite to the door of ingress, is seated the worshipful master; the altar is placed in the centre on four steps. A sky-blue canopy, dotted with stars, and having above it the shining triangle with the sacred name inscribed therein, covers the throne. To the left of the canopy is seen the sun, and to the right the moon. Another ornament is the blazing star, and the point within a circle, symbolising the sun or the universe. A chest or ark also forms part of the masonic furniture. It represents the ark that was carried in the processions of ancient Egypt, and contained seeds of various plants, a winnowing fan, and *Osiridis pudendum.* To the west, at the sides of the door of ingress, stand two pillars of bronze, whose capitals represent pomegranates, and bearing on their fronts the initials J. and B. (Jachin and Boaz). The senior and junior wardens sit near the two columns, having before them a triangular table, covered with masonic emblems. Around the lodge there are ten other pillars connected by an architrave with the two pillars above mentioned. On the altar are placed a Bible, a square, a pair of compasses, and swords; three candelabra with long tapers are placed, one at the east at the foot of the steps, the second at the west, near the first warden, and the third at the south. The room is surrounded with benches for the members. In the lodges called Scotch, and in English and American lodges, the canopy that covers the master's throne is of crimson silk. In the United States, the worshipful master wears a cap adorned with black feathers and a large cockade of the same colour. The senior and junior wardens are seated in niches with fringed drapery, and wear, like heralds, staves of ebony sculptured like pillars.

395. *Officers.*—Besides the Master and the Wardens, who are figuratively called the *three lights*, the lodge has other officers—the Orator, Secretary, Treasurer, Master of the Ceremonies, Keeper of the Seals, Architect, Steward, Captain of the Host, Principal Sojourner, Inner and Outer Guard or

Tyler, and others. Every official occupies a place assigned to him, and has his proper jewels and badges, like the Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek priests. Thus beside the jewels already mentioned, the treasurer wears cross keys; the secretary, cross pens; the senior deacon, a square and compass, with a sun in the centre; the junior deacon, a square and compass, with a moon in the centre; the steward, a cornucopia; the tyler, cross swords, &c. The names of most of the officers sufficiently indicate their duties; those that do not will be explained as they occur.

396. *Opening the Lodge.*—The meetings are generally held at night. The worshipful master, striking the altar with his mallet, "opens the labours," and after having ascertained that the lodge is tyled, he turns to the junior warden and says: "Brother junior warden, your constant place in the lodge?" "In the south." "Why are you placed there?" "To mark the sun at its meridian, to call the brethren from labour to refreshment, and from refreshment to labour, that profit and pleasure may be the result." "Brother senior warden, your constant place in the lodge?" "In the west." "Why are you placed there?" "To mark the setting sun; to close the lodge by the command of the worshipful master, after seeing that every one has his just dues." "Why is the master placed in the east?" "As the sun rises in the east to open and enliven the day, so the worshipful master is placed in the east to open and enlighten his lodge, to employ and instruct the brethren." "At what hour are Masons accustomed to begin their labours?" "At mid-day." "What hour is it, brother junior warden?" "It is mid-day." "Since this is the hour, and all is proved right and just, I declare the lodge open." The purely astronomical bearing of all this is self-evident, but will be more fully discussed hereafter.

V

GENUINE AND SPURIOUS MASONRY

397. *Distinction between Genuine and Spurious Masonry.*—Modern Freemasonry is divided into genuine and spurious. The former embraces the degrees of Entered Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason, which are known by the comprehensive name of Symbolic, and also of Blue Masonry, because the decorations are of that colour, the colour of the celestial canopy (27, 42, 85), which Blue Masonry is the only Masonry acknowledged by the Grand Lodge of England; the latter term, *i.e.* spurious, is applied to all other degrees. Without the Royal Arch degree Blue Masonry is incomplete, for we have seen in the Legend of the Temple that, through the murder of Hiram, the Master's word was lost; that word is not recovered in the Master's degree, its substitute only being given; but that lost word is recovered in the Royal Arch degree. Blue Masonry, in fact, answers to the lesser mysteries of the ancients, where in reality nothing but the exoteric doctrines were revealed; whilst spurious Masonry, or all subsequent degrees — for no one can be initiated into them who has not passed through the first three degrees—answers to the greater mysteries.

398. *Some Rites only deserve Special Mention.*—It would be a useless and unprofitable task to fully detail all the ceremonies practised in the lodges of Blue Masonry; and I shall, therefore, confine myself to giving such particulars of the three degrees as are most characteristic of the institution. As to spurious Masonry, its almost countless degrees form an incoherent medley of opposite principles, founded chiefly on Christian traditions and institutions, orders of knighthood, contested theological opinions, historical events; in fact, every important event or institution has afforded models for masonic mimicry. Of such as

have been distinguished either by a philosophical spirit or influential action on the progress of mankind I shall speak at some length. The reader will, however, bear in mind that the ceremonies vary in different lodges and different countries, and that much that follows must be taken as typical, being modified according to local and other conditions and circumstances.

VI

CEREMONIES OF INITIATION

THE APPRENTICE, FELLOW-CRAFT, AND MASTER MASON

399. *Ceremonies of Initiation. — The Apprentice.* — The novice that is to be initiated into the first or apprentice degree is led into the lodge building by a stranger, and introduced into a remote chamber, where he is left alone for a few minutes. He is then deprived of all metal he has about him; his right knee, and sometimes his left side, are uncovered, and the heel of his left shoe is trodden down. These ceremonies are supposed by some writers on the craft to be of Jesuitical origin. The deprivation of metals is to typify the vow of poverty, the baring of the breast and knee is intended to prevent the admission of women, and the treading down the heel of the shoe to remind the candidate that Ignatius de Loyola, who had a bad foot, thus began his pilgrimage. His eyes are bandaged, and he is led into the closet of reflection, where he is told to stay without taking off the bandage, until he hears three knocks. At the signal, on uncovering his eyes he beholds on the walls, hung with black, inscriptions like the following:—"If idle curiosity draw thee hither, depart!" "If thou be afraid of being enlightened concerning thy errors, it profits thee not to stay here." "If thou value human distinctions, go hence; here they are not known." After a deal of palaver between the brother who introduces the novice and the master, the candidate, having his eyes again bandaged and a cord passed round his neck, is introduced into the middle of the brethren, his guide pointing a naked sword to his breast. He is then questioned as to his object in coming hither, and on answering that he comes to be initiated into the secrets of Masonry, he is led out of the lodge and back again to confuse him. A large square frame covered with paper, such as circus-riders use, is then brought forward and held

by two brethren. The guide then asks the master: "What shall we do with the profane?" To which the master replies: "Shut him up in the cave." Two brethren seize the postulant and throw him through the paper-screen into the arms of two other brethren who stand ready to receive him. The folding doors, hitherto left open, are then shut with great noise, and, by means of an iron ring and bar, the closing with massive locks is imitated, so that the candidate fancies himself shut up in a dungeon. Some time then elapses in sepulchral silence. All at once the master strikes a smart blow, and orders the candidate to be placed beside the junior warden, and to be made to kneel. The master then addresses several questions to him, and instructs him on his duties towards the Order. The candidate is then offered a beverage, with the intimation that if any treason lurks in his heart, the drink will turn to poison. The cup containing it has two compartments, the one holding sweet, the other bitter water; the candidate is then taught to say: "I bind myself to the strict and rigorous observance of the duties prescribed to Freemasons; and if ever I violate my oath"—(here his guide puts the sweet water to his lips, and having drunk some, the candidate continues)—"I consent that the sweetness of this drink be turned into bitterness, and that its salutary effect become for me that of a subtle poison." The candidate is then made to drink of the bitter water, whereupon the master exclaims: "What do I see? What means the sudden alteration of your features? Perhaps your conscience belies your words? Has the sweet drink already turned bitter? Away with the profane! This oath is only a test; the true one comes after." The candidate persisting nevertheless in his determination, he is led three times round the lodge; then he is dragged over broken chairs, stools, and blocks of wood; this trial over, he is told to mount the "endless stairs," and having, as he supposes, attained a great height, to cast himself down, when he only falls a few feet. This trial is accompanied by great noise, the brethren striking on the attributes of the order they carry in their hands, and uttering all kinds of dismal shouts. As a further trial, he is then passed through fire, rendered harmless by well-known conjuring tricks; his arm is slightly pricked, and a gurgling noise being produced by one of the brethren, the candidate fancies that he is losing much blood. Finally, he takes the oath, the brethren standing around him with drawn swords. The candidate is then led between

the two pillars, and the brethren place their swords against his breast. The master of the ceremonies loosens the bandage without taking it off. Another brother holds before him a lamp that sheds a brilliant light. The master resumes: "Brother senior warden, deem you the candidate worthy of forming part of our society?" "Yes." "What do you ask for him?" "Light." "Then let there be light!" The master gives three blows with the mallet, and at the third the bandage is taken off, and the candidate beholds the light, which is to symbolise that which is to fill his understanding. The brethren drop their swords, and the candidate is led to the altar, where he kneels, whilst the master says: "In the name of the Grand Architect of the universe, and by virtue of the powers vested in me, I create and constitute thee masonic apprentice and member of this lodge." Then striking three blows with his mallet on the blade of the sword, he raises the new brother, girds him with the apron of white lamb's skin, gives him a pair of white gloves to be worn in the lodge, and another to be given to the lady he esteems most, a symbolical gift which need not be further explained. He is then again led between the two pillars, and received by the brethren as one of them. Such is the proceeding the apprentice has to go through; a few more details may be added.

One question put to him is: "Have you seen your master to-day?" "Yes." "How was he clothed?" "In a yellow jacket and blue pair of breeches." The explanation is: the master is the compasses, the yellow jacket is the brass body, and the blue breeches are the steel points. He is also asked: "How old are you?" "Under seven." This answer implies that he has not passed to the fellow-crafts degree, seven years being the term of an apprenticeship in Freemasonry, as it is in other trades. The password is Boaz, the sign holding the hand horizontally, with the thumb turned up towards the right ear, to remind the apprentice of his oath, on taking which he promises: "These several points [keeping the secrets of the order] I solemnly swear to observe without evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation, under no less a penalty on the violation of any of them, than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the root, and my body buried in the sand of the sea." The grip is given by a distinct pressure of the right hand thumb on the first joint from the wrist of the right hand forefinger, grasping the finger with the hand.

400. *Ceremonies of Initiation. — The Fellow-Craft.* — The

second degree of symbolic Freemasonry is that of fellow-craft. The apprentice, who asks for an increase of salary, is not conducted to the lodge like the profane by an unknown brother, nor are his eyes bandaged, because the light was made for him, but moves towards the lodge holding in his hand a rule, one of whose ends he rests on the left shoulder. Having reached the door, he gives the apprentice's knock, and having been admitted and declared the purpose for which he comes, he five times perambulates the lodge, whereupon he is told by the master to perform his last apprentice's work. He then pretends to square the rough ashlar. After a deal of instruction, very useless and pointless, he takes the oath, in which he swears to keep the secrets entrusted to him. Then there follows some more lecturing on the part of the master, chiefly on geometry, for which Masons profess a great regard, and to which the letter G seen in the lodge within an irradiation or star is said to refer.

The oath of the fellow-craft is rather more atrocious than that of the apprentice. He swears, in addition to his former obligations, to keep the secrets of the crafts, and to do so under no less a penalty than to have his left breast cut open, his heart torn therefrom and given to the ravenous birds of the air and the devouring beasts of the field. With reference to this oath the sign is given by placing the hand with the thumb turned up on his breast; the password is Jachin, sometimes Shibboleth. The grip is given by a distinct pressure of the thumb of the right hand between the joints of the first and middle fingers of the right hand.

401. *Ceremony of Initiation and Story of Hiram's Murder.—The Master Mason.*—At the reception of a master, the lodge or "middle chamber" is draped with black, with death's heads, skeletons, and cross bones painted on the walls. A taper of yellow wax, placed in the east, and a dark lantern formed of a skull having a light within, which shines forth through the eye-holes, placed on the altar of the most worshipful master, give just sufficient light to reveal a coffin, wherein the corpse is represented either by a lay-figure, a serving brother, or the brother last made a master. On the coffin is placed a sprig of acacia, at its head is a square, and at its foot, towards the east, an open compass. The masters are clothed in black, and wear large azure sashes, on which are represented masonic emblems, the sun, moon, and seven stars. The object of the meeting is said to be the finding of the word of the master that was slain. The postulant for admission is introduced after some preliminary ceremonies, having his

two arms, breasts, and knees bare, and both heels slipshod. He is told that the brethren assembled are mourning the death of their grand master, and asked whether perhaps he was one of the murderers; at the same time he is shown the body or figure in the coffin. Having declared his innocence of any share in that crime, he is informed that he will on this occasion have to enact the part of Hiram (385), who was slain at the building of Solomon's temple, and whose history he is about to be told. The brother or figure in the coffin has in the meantime been removed, so that when the aspirant looks at it again, he finds it empty. The story of the murder of Hiram is then related. But the deed is not, as in the Legend of the Temple, attributed to Solomon's jealousy, but simply to Hiram's refusal to communicate the master's word to three fellow-crafts. The various incidents of the story are scenically enacted on the postulant. "Hiram," the master continues, "having entered the temple at noon, the three assassins placed themselves at the east, west, and south doors, and Hiram refusing to reveal the word, he who stood at the east door cut Hiram across the throat with a twenty-four-inch gauge. Hiram flew to the south door, where he received similar treatment, and thence to the west door, where he was struck on the head with a gavel, which occasioned his death." The applicant, at this part of the recital, is informed that he too must undergo trials, and is not to sink under the influence of terror, though the hand of death be upon him. He is then struck in the forehead and thrown down, and shams a dead man. The master continues: "The ruffians carried the body out at the west door, and buried it at the side of a hill"—here the postulant is placed in the coffin—"in a grave, on which they stuck a sprig of acacia to mark the spot. Hiram not making his appearance as usual, Solomon caused search to be made for him by twelve trusty fellow-crafts that were sent out, three east, three west, three south, and three north. Of the three who went east, one being weary, sat down on the brow of a hill to rest himself, and in rising caught hold of a twig"—here a twig of that plant is put into the hand of the aspirant lying in the coffin—"which coming up easily, showed that the ground had been recently disturbed, and on digging he and his companions found the body of Hiram." A similar occurrence is related in Æneis, iii. 22–29, where Æneas, in plucking up a shrub on the side of a hill, discovers the murder of Polydorus. "Hiram's body was in a mangled condition, having lain fourteen days, whereupon one of those present exclaimed *Macbenach!* which

means 'the flesh is off the bones,' or 'the brother is smitten,' and became the master's word, as the former one was lost through Hiram's death; for though the other two masters, Solomon and Hiram, king of Tyre, knew it, it could only be communicated by the three grand masters conjointly." The covering of the grave being green moss and turf, other bystanders exclaimed, *Muscus domus, Dei gratia!* which, according to Masonry, is, "Thanks be unto God, our master has got a mossy house!" The exclamation shows that the Hebrew builders of Solomon's temple possessed a familiar knowledge of the Latin tongue! The body of Hiram could not be raised by the apprentice's or fellow-craft's grip, but only by the master's, or the lion's grip, as it is called. All this is then imitated by the master raising the aspirant in the coffin, who is then told the word, signs, and grips, and takes the oath, promising to keep the masonic secrets under no less a penalty than to have his body severed in two, his bowels torn thereout and burnt to ashes, and those ashes scattered to the four cardinal points. The grip is given by a distinct pressure of the thumb between the joints of the middle and ring fingers. The password is "Tubal-Cain." There are three signs, the most important being the penal sign, which is given by drawing the hand across the centre of the body, dropping it to the side, and then raising it again to place the point of the thumb on the navel. The grip is the first of the five points of fellowship, and consists in taking hold of each other's wrists with the points of the fingers. The second point is placing the right foot parallel with the right foot on the inside; the third, right knee to right knee; the fourth, right breast to right breast; and the fifth, hand over shoulder, supporting the back. It is in this position, and only in a whisper, that the word "Mahabone," or "Macbenach," is given, the first meaning "the death of a brother," and the second "the brother is smitten."

402. *The Legend Explained.*—Taken literally, the story of Hiram would offer nothing so extraordinary as to deserve to be commemorated after three thousand years throughout the world by solemn rites and ceremonies. The death of an architect is not so important a matter as to have more honour paid to it than is shown to the memory of so many philosophers and learned men who have lost their lives in the cause of human progress. But history knows nothing of him. His name is only mentioned in the Bible, and it is simply said of him that he was a man of understanding and

cunning in working in brass. Tradition is equally silent concerning him. He is remembered nowhere except in Freemasonry; the legend, in fact, is purely allegorical, and may bear a twofold interpretation, cosmological and astronomical.

Cosmologically, we find represented therein the dualism of the two antagonistic powers, which is the leading feature of all Eastern initiations. The dramatic portion of the mysteries of antiquity is always sustained by a deity or man who perishes as the victim of an evil power, and rises again into a more glorious existence. In the ancient mysteries, we constantly meet with the record of a sad event, a crime which plunges nations into strife and grief, succeeded by joy and exultation.

Astronomically, again, the parallel is perfect, and is in fact only another version of the legend of Osiris. Hiram represents Osiris, *i.e.* the sun. The assassins place themselves at the west, south, and east doors, that is, the regions illuminated by the sun; they bury the body, and mark the spot with a sprig of acacia. Twelve persons play an important part in the tragedy, viz. the three murderers (fellow-crafts), and nine masters. This number is a plain allusion to the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the three murderers are the three inferior signs of winter, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, and *Sagittarius*. Hiram is slain at the west door, the sun descends in the west. The acacia of Freemasonry is the plant found in all the ancient solar allegories, and symbolising the new vegetation to be anticipated by the sun's resurrection. The acacia being looked upon by the ancients as incorruptible, its twigs were preferred for covering the body of the god-man to the myrtle, laurel, and other plants mentioned in the ancient mysteries. Hiram's body is in a state of decay, having lain fourteen days; the body of Osiris was cut into fourteen pieces (51). But according to other statements, the body was found on the seventh day; this would allude to the resurrection of the sun, which actually takes place in the seventh month after his passage through the inferior signs, that passage which is called his descent into hell. Hiram can only be raised by the lion's grip. It is through the instrumentality of Leo that Osiris is raised; it is when the sun re-enters that sign that he regains his former strength, that his restoration to life takes place. Masons in this degree call themselves the "children of the widow," the sun on descending into his tomb leaving nature —of which Masons consider themselves the pupils—a widow; but the appellation may also have its origin in the Mani-

chæan sect, whose followers were known as the "sons of the widow" (112).

403. *The Raising of Osiris.*—A painting found on an Egyptian mummy, now in Paris, represents the death and resurrection of Osiris, and the beginning, progress, and end of the inundation of the Nile. The sign of the Lion is transformed into a couch, upon which Osiris is laid out as dead; under the couch are four canopi or jars of various capacities, indicating the state of the Nile at different periods. The first is terminated by the head of Sirius, or the Dog-Star, which gives warning of the approach of the overflow of the river; the second by the head of the Hawk, the symbol of the Etesian wind, which tends to swell the waters; the third by the head of a Heron, the sign of the south wind, which contributes to propel the water into the Mediterranean; and the fourth by that of the Virgin, which indicates that when the sun had passed that sign the inundation would have nearly subsided. To the above is superadded a large Anubis, who with an emphatic gesture, turning towards Isis, who has an empty throne on her head, intimates that the sun, by the aid of the Lion, had cleared the difficult pass of the tropic of Cancer, and was now in the sign of the latter; and although in a state of exhaustion, would soon be in a condition to proceed on his way to the south. The empty throne is indicative of its being vacated by the supposed death of Osiris. The reason why the hawk represents the north wind is, because about the summer solstice, when the wind blows from north to south, the bird flies with the wind towards the south (Job xxxix. 26). The heron signifies the south wind, because this bird, living on the worms hatched in the mud of the Nile, follows the course of the river down to the sea, just as the south wind does. To know the state of the Nile, and therefore their own personal prospects, the Egyptians watched the birds; hence among other nations, who did not know the principle by which the Egyptians went, arose divination by the flight of birds.[1]

404. *The Blazing Star.*—The representation of a blazing star found in every masonic lodge, and which Masons declare

[1] Hamlet says, "I am but mad north-north-west; when the wind is southerly I know a hawk from a hand-saw." Thomas Capell, the editor of the Oxford edition of Shakespeare, changes "hand-saw" to "hernshaw," which renders the passage intelligible; for hernshaw is only another name for the heron; and Hamlet, though feigning madness, yet claims sufficient sanity to distinguish a hawk from a hernshaw, when the wind is southerly —that is, in the time of the migration of the latter to the north—and when the former is not to be seen.

to signify prudence—though why a star should have such a meaning they would be at a loss to tell—is the star Sirius, the dog-star, mentioned above, the inundation of the Nile occurring when the sun was under the stars of the Lion. Near the stars of the Cancer, though pretty far from the band of the zodiac towards the south, and a few weeks after their rising, the Egyptians saw in the morning one of the most brilliant stars in the whole heavens ascending the horizon. It appeared a little before the rising of the sun; they therefore pitched upon this star as the infallible sign of the sun's passing under the stars of Leo, and the beginning of the inundation. As it thus seemed to be on the watch and give warning, they called it "Barker," "Anubis," "Thot," all meaning the "dog." Its Hebrew name, "Sihor," in Greek became "Seirios," and in Latin "Sirius." It taught the Egyptians the prudence of retiring into the higher grounds; and thus Masons, ignorant of the origin of the symbol, yet give it its original emblematic signification.

VII

THE HOLY ROYAL ARCH

405. *Officers.*—The members of this degree (founded about the year 1766) are denominated "companions." There are nine officers, the chief of whom (in England) is Zerubbabel, a compound word, meaning "the bright lord, the sun." He rebuilds the temple, and therefore represents the sun risen again. The next officer is Jeshua, the high-priest; the third, Haggai, the prophet. These three compose the grand council. Principals and senior and junior sojourners form the base; Ezra and Nehemiah, senior and junior scribes, one on each side; janitor or tyler without the door. The companions assembled make up the sides of the arch, representing the pillars Jachin and Boaz. In front of the principals stands an altar, inscribed with the names of Solomon, Hiram, king of Tyre, and Hiram Abiff.

406. *Ceremonies.* — On entering the chapter, the companions give the sign of sorrow, in imitation of the ancients mourning for the loss of Osiris. Nine companions must be present at the opening of a royal arch chapter; not more nor less than three are permitted to take this degree at the same time, the two numbers making up the twelve, the number of zodiacal signs. The candidates are prepared by tying a bandage over their eyes, and coiling a rope seven times round the body of each, which unites them together, with three feet of slack rope between them. They then pass under the living arch, which is made by the companions either joining their hands and holding them up, or by holding their rods or swords so as to resemble a Gothic arch. This part of the ceremony used to be attended in some lodges with a deal of tomfoolery and rough horse-play. The companions would drop down on the candidates, who were obliged to support themselves on their hands and knees; and if they went too slowly, it was not unusual for one or more of the companions to apply a sharp point to their bodies to urge them on. Trials, such as the

candidates for initiation into the ancient mysteries had to go through, were also imitated in the royal arch. But few, if any, lodges now practise these tricks, fit only for Christmas pantomimes. The candidates, after taking the oath, declare that they come in order to assist at the rebuilding of Solomon's temple, whereupon they are furnished with pick-axes, shovels, and crowbars, and retire. After a while, during which they are supposed to have been at work and to have made a discovery, they return, and state that on digging for the new foundation they discovered an underground vault, into which one of them was let down and found a scroll, which on examination turns out to be the long-lost book of the law. They set to work again, and discover another vault, and under that a third. The sun having now gained his meridian height, darts his rays to the centre and shines on a white marble pedestal, on which is a plate of gold. On this plate is a double triangle, and within the triangles some words they cannot understand; they therefore take the plate to Zerubbabel. There the whole mystery of Masonry—as far as known to Masons—is unveiled; what the Masons had long been in search of is found, for the mysterious writing in a triangular form is the long-lost sacred word of the Master Mason, which Solomon and King Hiram deposited there, as we have seen in the master's degree (402). This word Jabulon = Jah + Bel + On, Hebrew, Assyrian, and Egyptian names of the sun, is the *logos* of Plato and St. John, the omnific word; but the above compound name, intended to bear the same import, is substituted by modern Masons. It is communicated to the candidates in this way: The three principals and each three companions form the triangles, and each of the three takes his left-hand companion by the right-hand wrist, and his right-hand companion by the left-hand wrist, forming two distinct triangles with the hands, and a triangle with their right feet, amounting to a triple triangle, and then pronounce the following words, each taking a line in turn:—

"As we three did agree,
In peace, love, and unity,
The sacred word to keep,
So we three do agree,
In peace, love, and unity,
The sacred word to search,
Until we three,
Or three such as we, shall agree
This royal arch chapter to close."

The right hands, still joined as a triangle, are raised as high as possible, and the word given at low breath in syllables, so that each companion has to pronounce the whole word. It is not permitted to utter this omnific word above the breath; like the name "Jehovah" or "Oum," it would shake heaven and earth if pronounced aloud. Zerubbabel next makes the new companions acquainted with the five signs used in this degree, and invests them with the badges of Royal Arch Masonry—the apron, sash, and jewel. The character on the apron is the triple Tau, one of the most ancient of emblems, and Masons call it the emblem of emblems, "with a depth that reaches to the creation of the world and all that is therein." This triple Tau is a compound figure of three T's, called Tau in Greek. Now this Tau or T is the figure of the old Egyptian Nilometer, used to ascertain the height of the inundation. It was a pole crossed with one or more transverse pieces. As on the inundation depended the subsistence, the life of the inhabitants, the Nilometer became the symbol of life, health, and prosperity, and was thought to have the power of averting evil. It thence became an amulet, and in this manner was introduced among masonic symbols.

407. *Passing the Veils.*—In some chapters the ceremony called "passing the veils" is omitted, but to make the account of Royal Arch Masonry complete I append it here. The candidate is introduced blindfold, his knees bare, and his feet slipshod, with a cable-tow round his waist. The high-priest reads Exod. iii. 1–6, and 13, 14, and the candidate is informed that "I am that I am" is the password from the first to the second veil. He is also shown a bush on fire. He is then led to the second veil, which, on giving the password, he passes, and beholds the figure of a serpent and Aaron's rod. The high-priest reads Exod. iv. 1–5, and the candidate is told to pick up the rod cast down before him, that the act is the sign of passing the second veil, and that the passwords are "Moses, Aaron, and Eleazar." He then passes the guard of the third veil. The high-priest reads Exod. iv. 6–9, and the candidate is informed that the leprous hand and the pouring out of the water are the signs of the third veil, and that "Holiness to the Lord" are the passwords to the sanctum sanctorum. He is shown the ark of the covenant, the table of shewbread, the burning incense, and the candlestick with seven branches. Then follow long lectures to explain the words and symbols, but their quality may be inferred from the following specimen: —"This triangle is also an emblem of geometry. And here

we find the most perfect emblem of the science of agriculture; not a partial one like the Basilidean, calculated for one particular clime, but universal; pointed out by a pair of compasses issuing from the centre of the sun, and suspending a globe denoting the earth, and thereby representing the influence of that luminary over the creation, admonishing us to be careful to perform every operation in its proper season, that we lose not the fruits of our labour." What a farmer would say to, or what profit he could derive from, this universal "science of agriculture," or whether he needs the "admonishing" symbol, I am at a loss to imagine. The triple Tau, according to the lecture, means *templum Hierosolymæ*, also *clavis ad thesaurum*, *res ipsa pretiosa*, and several other things equally *true*. "But," continues the lecturer, "these are all symbolical definitions of the symbol, which is to be simply solved into an emblem of science in the human mind, and is the most ancient symbol of that kind, the prototype of the Cross, and the first object in every religion or human system of worship. This is the grand secret of Masonry, which passes by symbols from superstition to science." How far all this is from the true meaning of the cross and triple Tau may be seen by reference to 53.

VIII

GRAND MASTER ARCHITECT

408. *Ceremonial.*—In this, the twelfth degree of the ancient Scotch rite, the chapter, or lodge, represents the Temple of Solomon in three compartments. The first to the west, hung with white, is the vestibule. On its northern side is the tomb of Hiram, also white; to the south stands the Brazen Sea. The centre of the lodge, divided from the vestibule by a white, and from the Holy of Holies by a red, curtain represents the interior of the temple. On its floor is the Scotch carpet, showing the three walls round the temple; to the north of the carpet stands the golden table with the shewbread, to the south the candlestick with seven branches. The altar of incense is placed on the carpet itself, and above it hangs the Blazing Star, strongly illuminated. The east is the Holy of Holies. In the centre is an altar, raised on seven steps; the altar represents the ark of the covenant, on which are placed two cherubims, surmounted by the sign of the glory of God, consisting of a transparent disc, having in its centre a triangle, inscribed with 7, 7, 74. The perpetual holy fire burns in a vase on the ark. Eighty-one lights burn on the steps, which, however, are lighted up only when the candidate is to be shown the light of the Holy of Holies. The Master sits at a small table, with a red cloth, and having on this the word of the Order and the vestment of the candidate. The brethren wear an apron embroidered and lined with red. From a sash, worn from the right shoulder to the left hip, the pentagon is suspended, or a gold medal, on both sides of which are engraved the orders of architecture. The master is called "The Most Powerful Grand Architect," the two wardens are called "Ancient Scotch Grand Masters," and the brethren "Perfect Architects."

The usual questions and answers are put at the opening of the lodge. Here are a few of them:—

"Where does the Most Powerful Grand Architect dwell?"

"In the east, in the Holy of Holies."

"Why?"

"That he, being placed close to the fountain of all light, may point out to the brethren the way by which they may emerge from darkness into light."

"How is this done?"

"By opening the temple; by advice, direction, and examination of the work of the Scotch Architects."

"Give me the password."

"Zididiac, or Zedekiah." Occasionally it is "Rabacim."

"Give me the holy word."

The brethren form a chain to the Grand Master, and whisper the word into each other's ears. We shall presently see what it is.

The questions are continued: "What hour is it?"

"The first hour of the last day of the last year in which Solomon's temple was finished."

The brethren hold up their swords and greet one another by crossing them; then rest them on their left arms, take off their hats, kneel down, and during the prayer that follows make the Grand Scotch sign, *i.e.* the hand at the forehead. The prayer being over, the brethren rise, put on their hats, and the lodge is declared to be open for the reception of the candidate, who is introduced with a great deal of ceremony, being blindfolded, wearing the master's apron, and slippers on his feet, and whom the Grand Master of Ceremony declares to be a Hiramite, called by the unanimous voice of the Ancient Scotch to become a perfect Architect, to assist in building up the Holy of Holies. He is made to kneel with his right knee on a stool in front of the tomb or coffin, where he is catechised as to his intentions, and all being satisfactory, he is led five times, and then again seven times round the apartment, and finally his eyes are unbandaged, the tomb of Hiram is pointed out to him, as also the letter G in the Blazing Star, which letter stands for "Gnosis," the "inheritance of Perfect Architects." Then ensues a good deal more catechising and lecturing, and finally the new brother has to take the oath, which binds him, however, to nothing more than to secrecy, and the fulfilment of certain moral duties. The members again go through a number of evolutions round or on the carpet; their swords are drawn, held up, crossed, and sheathed again. Then the candidate has his eyes bandaged again; the brethren kneel down, their faces being turned to the Holy of Holies, in which the eighty-one lights are now lighted;

the curtain is drawn up, a handful of powder is thrown on the altar of incense, and the bandage taken off the candidate's eyes; the Grand Master makes an edifying moral speech, the brethren flourish their swords, and forming a circle bring them as much as possible in a point over the new brother's head, who is now declared a Perfect Ancient Scotch Architect, touched with the sword on the right and left shoulder, the breast and the back, and the sword is then handed to him by the Grand Master, who concludes with another long speech. As the candidate naturally expects to be let into some kind of secret, he is told that the holy word is "Jehovah," which however is never pronounced out of the Holy of Holies. There is also the word "Gomer," but its meaning is not explained.

Such is an outline of the twelfth degree of the Ancient Scotch rite. It reminds me of what Lessing, the celebrated German author, said after he had been made a Mason. The master having expressed a hope that Lessing had found nothing against the state, religion, and morals in the Order, Lessing replied, "No, I wish I had, for then I should have found at least something!"

IX

GRAND ELECT KNIGHT OF KADOSH

409. *The Term Kadosh.*—This degree, the thirtieth of the ancient and accepted Scotch rite, contains a beautiful astronomical allegory, and is probably derived from Egypt. The term *Kadosh* means "holy" or "elect." (Every person in the East, preferred to a post of honour, carried a staff, to indicate that he was *Kadosh* or elect, or that his person was sacred; whence eventually the name came to be applied to the staff itself, and hence the derivation of *caduceus*, the staff of Mercury, the messenger of the gods.)

410. *Reception into the Degree.*—There are four apartments; the initiation takes place in the fourth. They symbolise the seasons. The first apartment is hung with black, lit up by a solitary lamp of triangular form, and suspended to the vaulted ceiling. It communicates with a kind of cave or closet of reflection, containing symbols of destruction and death. The candidate, after having been left there some time, passes into the second apartment, which is draped with white; two altars occupy the centre; on one is an urn filled with burning spirits of wine, on the other a brazier with live coal, and incense beside it. The candidate now faces the sacrificing priest, who addresses some words of admonition to him, and having burned some incense, directs him to the third apartment. It is hung with blue, and the vaulted ceiling covered with stars. Three yellow tapers light up this room. This is the areopagus. The candidate, having here given the requisite explanation as to the sincerity of his intentions and promises of secrecy, is introduced into the fourth apartment, hung with red. At the east is a throne surmounted by a double eagle, crowned, with outspread wings and holding a sword in his claw. In this room, lighted up with twelve yellow tapers, the chapter takes the title of "senate"; the brethren are called "knights." In this room also stands the mysterious ladder.

411. *The Mysterious Ladder.*—It has seven steps, which

symbolise the sun's progress through the seven signs of the zodiac from *Aries* to *Libra*, both inclusive. This the candidate ascends, receiving at every step the explanation of its meaning from a hierophant, who remains invisible to the candidate, just as in the ancient mysteries the initiating priest remained concealed, and as Pythagoras delivered his instructions from behind a veil. When the candidate has ascended the ladder, and is on the last step, the ladder is lowered and he passes over it, because he cannot retire the same way, as the sun does not retrograde. He then reads the words at the bottom of the ladder, *Ne plus ultra*. The last degree manufactured is always the *ne plus ultra*, till somebody concocts one still more sublime, which then is the *ne plus ultra*, till it is superseded by another. What sublimity masonic degrees will yet attain, and where they will stop, no one can tell.

412. *The Seven Steps.*—The name of the first step is *Isedakah*, which is defined "righteousness," alluding to the sun in the vernal equinox in the month of March, when the days and nights are equal all over the world, and the sun dispenses his favours equally to all.

The second step is *Shor-laban*, "white ox" figuratively. This is the only step the definition of which is literally true, which, as it might lead to a clue to the meaning of the mysterious ladder, is thus falsely denominated figurative. Taurus, the bull, is the second sign of the zodiac, into which the sun enters on the 21st April. His entry into this sign is marked by the setting of Orion, who in mythological language is said to be in love with the Pleiades; and by the rising of the latter.

The third step is called *Mathok*, "sweetness." The third sign is *Gemini*, into which the sun enters in the pleasant month of May. "Canst thou hinder the sweet influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" (Job). Now, the Pleiades were denominated by the Romans *Vergiliæ*, from their formerly rising when the spring commenced, and their sweet influences blessed the year by the beginning of spring.

The fourth step is *Emunah*, "truth in disguise." The fourth sign is *Cancer*, into which the sun enters in June. Egypt at this period is enveloped in clouds and dust, by which means the sun, which figuratively may be called truth, is obscured or disguised.

The fifth step is *Hamal saggi*, "great labour." The fifth sign is *Leo*. The great labour and difficulties to which the

sun was supposed to be subject in passing this sign have already been alluded to (403).

The sixth step is *Sabbal*, "burden or patience." The sixth sign through which the sun passes is *Virgo*, marked by the total disappearance of the celestial Hydra, called the Hydra of Lerna, from whose head spring up the Great Dog and the Crab. Hercules destroys the Hydra of Lerna, but is annoyed by a sea-crab, which bites him in the foot. Whenever Hercules lopped off one of the monster's heads two others sprang up, so that his labour would have been endless, had he not ordered his companion Iolas to sear the blood with fire.

The seventh step is named *Gemunah*, *Binah*, *Jebunah*, "retribution, intelligence, prudence." The seventh sign is *Libra*, into which the sun enters at the commencement of autumn, indicated by the rising of the celestial Centaur, the same that treated Hercules with hospitality. This constellation is represented in the heavens with a flask full of wine and a thyrsus, ornamented with leaves and grapes, the symbols of the products of the seasons. The sun has now arrived at the autumnal equinox, bringing in his train the fruits of the earth; and recompense is made to the husbandman in proportion to his prudence and intelligence.

The ladder will remind the reader of the ladder of the Indian mysteries; of the ladder seen by Jacob in his dream; the pyramids with seven steps; and the seven caverns of various nations.

Formerly—it may be so now in some lodges—one of the tests the aspirant to this degree had to undergo was to kill the murderer of Hiram with a dagger, to bring his head to the altar, and drink blood out of a skull. The candidate, being blindfolded, had to place his hand on the beating heart of a sheep, the wool around that part having been shaved off, and, having stabbed the victim, he was freed from the bandage, and was shown a bleeding head, made of wax, which, however, was immediately removed, to prevent his discovering the deception.

X

PRINCE OF ROSE-CROIX

413. *Distinct from Rosicrucian, and has various Names.*—This, the eighteenth degree of the ancient and accepted Scotch rite, is one of the most generally diffused of the higher degrees of Masonry. It is often confounded with the cabalistic and alchemistic sect of the Rosicrucians; but there is a great distinction between the two. The name is derived from the rose and the cross, and has no connection with alchemy; the import of the rose has been given in another place. The origin of the degree is involved in the greatest mystery, as already pointed out. The degree is known by various names, such as "Sovereign Princes of Rose-Croix," "Princes of Rose-Croix de Heroden," *i.e.* the holy house, *i.e.* the Temple, and sometimes "Knights of the Eagle and Pelican." It is considered the *ne plus ultra* of Masonry, which, however, is the case with several other degrees.

414. *Officers and Lodges.*—The presiding officer is called the "Ever Most Perfect Sovereign," and the two wardens are styled "Most Excellent and Perfect Brothers." The degree is conferred by a body called a "Chapter of the Sovereign Princes of Rose-Croix," and in three apartments, the first representing Mount Calvary, the second the site and scene of the Resurrection, and the third Hell. It will thus be seen that it is a purely Christian degree, and therefore not genuine Masonry, but an attempt to christianise Freemasonry. The first apartment is hung with black, and lighted with thirty-three lights upon three candlesticks of eleven branches. Each light is enclosed in a small tin box, and issues its light through a hole of an inch diameter. These lights denote the age of Christ. In three angles of the room, north-east, south-east, and south-west, are three pillars of the height of a man, on the several chapiters of which are inscribed the names of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Every lodge has its picture descriptive of its form, and of

the proper place of its officers and emblems. On the east, at the south and north angles, the sun and moon and a sky studded with stars are painted; the clouds very dark. An eagle is seen beating the air with his wings, as an emblem of the supreme power. Besides other allegorical paintings, there is also one of a cubic stone, sweating blood and water. On the stone is a rose, and the letter J, which means the expiring Word. The space round the picture, representing the square of the lodge, is filled with darkness, to represent what happened at the crucifixion. Below it are all the ancient tools of masonry, with the columns divided and broken into many parts. Lower down is the veil of the temple rent in twain. Before the master is a little table, lighted by three lights, upon which the Gospel, compasses, square, and triangle are placed. All the brethren are clothed in black, with a black scarf from the left shoulder to the right side. An apron, white, bordered with black: on the flap are a skull and cross-bones, between three red roses; on the apron is a globe surmounted by a serpent, and above the letter J. The master and the other officers wear on the neck a wide ribbon of black mohair, from which hangs the jewel, a golden compass, surmounted by a triple crown, with a cross between the legs, its centre being occupied by a full-blown rose; at the foot of the cross is a pelican feeding its young from its breast; on the other side is an eagle with wings displayed. The eagle is the emblem of the sun, the "sun of righteousness"; the pelican, of course, alludes to Christ shedding His blood for the human race; the cross and the rose explain themselves.

415. *Reception in the First Apartment.*—The candidate is clothed in black, decorated with a red ribbon, an apron doubled with the same colour, and a sword and scarf. After much preliminary ceremony, he is introduced into the apartment, and told by the master that the word that is lost and which he seeks cannot be given, because confusion reigns among them, the veil of the temple is rent, darkness covers the earth, the tools are broken, &c.; but that he need not despair, as they will find out the new law, that thereby they may recover the word. He is then told to travel for thirty-three years. The junior warden thereupon conducts him thirty-three times round the lodge, pointing out to him the three columns, telling him their names, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and bidding him remember them, as henceforth they must be his guides. After a little more talk, he is made to kneel with his right knee upon the Gospel and take

the following oath:—"I promise by the same obligations I have taken in the former degrees of Masonry never to reveal the secrets of the Knight of the Eagle, under the penalty of being for ever deprived of the true word; that a river of blood and water shall issue continually from my body, and, under the penalty of suffering anguish of soul, of being steeped in vinegar and gall, of having on my head the most piercing thorns, and of dying upon the cross; so help me the Grand Architect of the Universe." The candidate then receives the apron and sash, both symbols of sorrow for the loss of the word. A dialogue ensues, wherein the hope of finding the word is foreshadowed; whereupon the master and brethren proceed to the second apartment, where they exchange their black aprons and sashes to take red ones.

416. *Second Apartment.*—This apartment is hung with tapestry; three chandeliers, with thirty-three lights, but without the boxes, illuminate it. In the east there is a cross surrounded with a glory and a cloud; upon the cross is a rose of paradise, in the middle of which is the letter G. Below are three squares, in which are three circles, having three triangles, to form the summit, which is allegorical of Mount Calvary, upon which the Grand Architect of the Universe expired. Upon this summit is a blazing star with seven rays, and in the middle of it the letter G again. The eagle and pelican also reappear here. Below is the tomb. In the lower part of the square are the compasses, drawing-board, crow, trowel, and square. The cubic stone, hammer, and other tools are also represented.

417. *Reception in the Third Apartment.*—But the second point of reception takes place in a third apartment, which is made as terrifying as possible, to represent the torments of hell. It has seven chandeliers with grey burning flambeaux, whose mouths represent death's-heads and cross-bones. The walls are hung with tapestry, painted with flames and figures of the damned. The candidate, on presenting himself as a searcher of the lost word, has his sash and apron taken from him, as not humble enough to qualify him for the task, and is covered with a black cloth strewn with dirty ashes, so that he can see nothing, and informed that he will be led to the darkest of places, from which the word must come forth triumphant to the glory and advantage of Masonry. In this condition he is led to a steep descent, up and down which he is directed to travel, after which he is conducted to the door, and has the black cloth removed. Before him stand three figures dressed as devils. He then parades the room

three times, without pronouncing a word, in memory of the descent into the dark places, which lasted three days. He is then led to the door of the apartment, covered with black cloth, and told that the horrors through which he has passed are as nothing in comparison with those through which he has yet to pass; therefore he is cautioned to summon all his fortitude. But in reality all the terrible trials are over, for he is presently brought before the master, who asks: "Whence come you?" "From Judæa."—"Which way did you come?" "By Nazareth."—"Of what tribe are you descended?" "Judah."—"Give me the four initials?" "I.N.R.I."—"What do these letters signify?" "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews."—"Brother, the word is found; let him be restored to light." The junior warden quickly takes off the cloth, and at the signal of the master, all the brethren clap their hands three times and give three huzzas. The candidate is then taught the signs, grips, and password. The master then proceeds to the instruction of the newly-made Knight of the Eagle or Prince Rose-Croix, which amounts to this, that after the erection of Solomon's temple masons began to neglect their labours, that then the cubical stone, the corner-stone, began to sweat blood and water, and was torn from the building and thrown among the ruins of the decaying temple, and the mystic rose sacrificed on a cross. Then masonry was destroyed, the earth covered with darkness, the tools of masonry broken. Then the blazing star disappeared, and the word was lost. But masons having learnt the three words, Faith, Hope, and Charity, and following the new law, masonry was restored, though masons no longer built material edifices, but occupied themselves in spiritual buildings. The mystic rose and blazing star were restored to their former beauty and splendour.

The degree was purely Jesuitical, and its object the restoration of the Stuart family.

XI

THE RITES OF MISRAIM AND MEMPHIS

418. *Anomalies of the Rite of Misraim.*—Another of those diversities, which may be called the constant attendants of the life of vast associations, is the rite of "Misraim," so called from its falsely pretending to trace its origin back to the Egyptian King Menes, or Misraim. What chiefly distinguishes it from other rites, and renders it totally different from masonic institutions, is the supreme power given to the heads, whose irremovability we have seen abolished, in order to open the lodges to the forms of genuine democracy. This rite is essentially autocratic. One man, with the title of "Absolute Sovereign Grand Master," rules the lodges, and is irresponsible—an extraordinary anomaly in the bosom of a liberal society to behold a member claiming that very absolute power against which Freemasonry has been fighting for centuries!

419. *Organisation.*—The rite of Misraim was founded by Cagliostro at a time when there was already a question of even further reducing the number of the Scotch rite of thirty-three degrees, practically reduced to five. Then arose the rite of Misraim with ninety degrees, arranged in four sections, viz.: 1. Symbolic; 2. Philosophic; 3. Mystical; 4. Cabalistic; which were divided into seventeen classes. The rites are a medley of Scotch rites, Martinism, and Templarism, and the absolute Grand Masters arrogate to themselves the right of governing all masonic lodges throughout the world. The foundations of this system were laid at Milan in 1805, by several Masons who had been refused admission into the Supreme Grand Council. During the first year and for some time after postulants were only admitted as far as the 87th degree; the other three, complementing the system, embraced the *unknown* superiors. Jews are the chief supporters of this rite. To show its character, details of some of the degrees are here given.

420. *History and Constitution.*—From Milan, the Order

spread into Dalmatia, the Ionian Islands, and the Neapolitan territory, where it produced a total reform in a chapter of Rosicrucians, the "Concordia," established in the Abruzzi. It was not till 1814 that the rite of Misraim was introduced into France, where the pompous denominations of its endless hierarchy met with no slight success. Never had such titles been heard of in Masonry: Supreme Commander of the Stars, Sovereign of Sovereigns, Most High and Most Powerful Knight of the Rainbow, Sovereign Grand Prince Hiram, Sovereign Grand Princes, &c.; these were some of the titles assumed by the members. The trials of initiation were long and difficult, and founded on what is recorded of the Egyptian and Eleusinian mysteries. In the first two sections the founders of the rite seem to have attempted to bring together all the creeds and practices of Scotch Masonry combined with the mysteries of Egypt; and in the last two sections all the chemical and cabalistic knowledge professed by the priests of that country, reserving for the last three degrees the supreme direction of the Order. Attempts were made to introduce it into Belgium, Sweden, and Switzerland, and also into Ireland, and latterly into England; but everywhere it is in a languishing condition. The Grand Orient of France has never recognised the rite as a part of Masonry, though it has three lodges in Paris.

421. *Rites and Ceremonies.*—The Order celebrates two equinoctial festivals, the one called "The Reawakening of Nature," and the other, "The Repose of Nature." In the 69th degree, designated as "Knight of Khanuka, called Hynaroth," particular instructions are given as to man's relation to the Deity, and the cabalistic mediation of the angels. The Supreme Council of the 87th degree has three apartments: the first is draped in black, representing chaos, and lighted up with one light only. The second apartment has three lights, and its walls are hung with green, typifying hope. The third apartment has seventy-two lights, with a transparency showing the word Jehovah over the throne, and another similar one over the entrance door, all symbolising the zodiac and the sun. The sign is raising both hands towards heaven; the grip consists in crossing the hands, and the passwords are: I am—We are; Nature—Truth. In the 88th degree the hall of reception is oval, and hung with sea-green. The 89th degree has the password *Lux ex tenebris;* and the 90th degree holds its meetings in a circular room, and its password is Sophia, or Wisdom; its sacred word is Isis, to which the answer is Osiris. In this rite, altogether

modern, we meet with gnostic and cabalistic words and conceits—a phenomenon which were impossible did not gnostic ideas permeate all the veins of the masonic body.

422. *Rite of Memphis.*—It is a copy of the rite of Misraim, and was founded at Paris in 1839, and afterwards extended to Brussels and Marseilles. It was composed of ninety-one degrees, arranged in three sections and seven classes. A large volume printed at Paris, with the ambitious title of "The Sanctuary," gives an account of all the sections and their scope. The first section teaches morality, and explains the symbols; the second instructs in physical science, the philosophy of history, and explains the poetical myths of antiquity, its scope being to promote the study of causes and origins. The third and last section exhausts the story of the Order, and is occupied with high philosophy, studying the religious myth at the different epochs of mankind.

XII

MODERN KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

423. *Origin.*—We read that several lords of the Court of Louis XIV., including the Duke de Gramont, the Marquis of Biran, and Count Tallard, formed a secret society, whose object was pleasure. The society increased. Louis XIV., having been made acquainted with its statutes, banished the members of the Order, whose denomination was, "A slight Resurrection of the Templars." In 1705, Philip Duke of Orleans collected the remaining members of the society that had renounced its first scope to cultivate politics. A Jesuit father, Bonanni, a learned rogue, fabricated the famous list of supposititious Grand Masters of the Temple since Molay, beginning with his immediate successor, Larmenius. No imposture was ever sustained with greater sagacity. The document offered all the requisite characteristics of authenticity, and was calculated to deceive the most experienced palæologist. Its object was to connect the new institution with the ancient Templars. To render the deception more perfect, the volume containing the false list was filled with minutes of deliberations at fictitious meetings under false dates. Two members were even sent to Lisbon to obtain, if possible, a document of legitimacy from the "Knights of Christ," an Order founded on the ruins of the Order of the Temple. The deputies, however, were unmasked, and very badly received—one had to take refuge in England, the other was transported to Africa, where he died.

424. *Revival of the Order.*—But the society was not discouraged; it grew, and was probably the same that concealed itself before the outbreak of the Revolution under the vulgar name of the Society of the Bull's Head, and whose members were dispersed in 1792. At that period the Duke of Cosse-Brissac was Grand Master. When on his way to Versailles with other prisoners, there to undergo their trial, he was massacred, and Ledru, his physician, obtained possession of

the charter of Larmenius and the MS. statutes of 1705. These documents suggested to him the idea of reviving the Order; Fabré-Palaprat, a Freemason, was chosen Grand Master. Every effort was made to create a belief in the genuineness of the Order. The brothers Fabré, Arnal, and Leblond hunted up relics. The shops of antiquaries supplied the sword, mitre, and helmet of Molay, and the faithful were shown his bones, withdrawn from the funeral pyre on which he had been burned. As in the Middle Ages, the society exacted that aspirants should be of noble birth; such as were not were ennobled by the society. Fourteen honest citizens of Troyes on one occasion received patents of nobility and convincing coats of arms. During the Revolution the Order was dissolved, but partly restored during the Directorate. After the establishment of the Empire the members re-elected Dr. Fabré de Palaprat; Napoleon favoured the Order, because it promoted community between his new nobility and the members of the old aristocracy. Under the Restoration the liberal tendencies of the Order rendered it suspect, and at the instigation of the Jesuits the Grand Master was repeatedly sent to prison. To restore the Order to its original purpose—fighting the infidels—the members endeavoured to obtain an island in the Mediterranean; Sir Sidney Smith, later on, wanted to make it the means of suppressing piracy along the African coast.

425. *The Leviticon.*—The society was at first catholic, apostolic, Roman, and rejected Protestants; but Fabré suddenly gave it an opposite tendency. Having acquired a Greek MS. of the fifteenth century, containing the Gospel of St. John, with readings somewhat differing from the received version, preceded by a kind of introduction or commentary, called "Leviticon," he determined, towards 1815, to apply its doctrines to the society governed by him, and thus to transform an association, hitherto quite orthodox, into a schismatic sect. This Leviticon is nothing but the well-known work with the same title by the Greek monk, Nicephorus. He, having been initiated into the mysteries of the Sufites, who to this day, in the bosom of Mohammedanism preserve the dismal doctrines of the Ishmaelites of the lodge of Cairo (141), attempted to introduce these ideas into Christianity, and for that purpose wrote the "Leviticon," which became the Bible of a small number of sectaries; but persecution put an end to them. This singular MS. was translated into French in 1822, and printed, with modifications and interpolations, by Palaprat himself. This publication

was the cause of a schism in the Order of the Temple. Those knights that adopted its doctrines made them the basis of a new liturgy, which they rendered public in 1833 in a kind of Johannite church called the Temple, and consecrated with great pomp; a society of Ladies of the Temple was also formed at the same time.

426. *Ceremonies of Initiation.*—The lodges in this degree are called encampments, and the officers take their names from those that managed the original institution of the Knights Templars. The penal signs are the chin and beard sign and the saw sign. The grand sign is indicative of the death of Christ on the cross. There is a word, a grip, and passwords, which vary. The knights, who are always addressed as "Sir Knights," wear knightly costume, not omitting the sword. The candidate for installation is "got up" as a pilgrim, with sandals, mantle, staff, cross, scrip, and wallet, a belt or cord round his waist, and in some encampments a burden on his back, which is made to fall off at the sight of the cross. On his approach, an alarm is sounded with a trumpet, and after a deal of pseudo-military parley he is admitted, and a saw is applied to his forehead by the second captain, whilst all the Sir Knights are under arms. The candidate, being prompted by the master of the ceremonies, declares that he is a weary pilgrim, prepared to devote his life to the service of the poor and sick, and to protect the holy sepulchre. After perambulating the encampment seven times he repeats the oath, having first put away the pilgrim's staff and cross and taken up a sword. In this oath he swears to defend the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ against all Jews, Turks, infidels, heathens, and other opposers of the Gospel. "If ever I wilfully violate this my solemn compact," he continues, "as a Brother Knight Templar, may my skull be sawn asunder with a rough saw, my brains taken out and put in a charger to be consumed by the scorching sun, and my skull in another charger, in commemoration of St. John of Jerusalem, that first faithful soldier and martyr of our Lord and Saviour. Furthermore, may the soul that once inhabited this skull appear against me in the day of judgment. So help me God." A lighted taper is afterwards put into his hand, and he circumambulates the encampment five times "in solemn meditation"; and then kneeling down is dubbed knight by the grand commander, who says, "I hereby instal you a masonic knight hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem, Palestine, Rhodes, and Malta, and also a Knight Templar." The grand commander

next clothes him with the mantle, and invests him with the apron, sash, and jewel, and presents him with sword and shield. He then teaches him the so-called Mediterranean password and sign. The motto of the Knight Templar is, *In hoc signo vinces.* In England the encampment of Baldwin, which was established at Bristol by the Templars who returned with Richard I. from Palestine, still continues to hold its regular meetings, and is believed to have preserved the ancient costume and ceremonies of the Order. There is another encampment at Bath, and a third at York, from which three emanated all the other encampments in Great Britain and America. In some of the encampments the following is the concluding part of the ceremony:—One of the equerries dressed as a cook, with a white nightcap and apron and a large kitchen knife in his hand, suddenly rushes in, and, kneeling on one knee before the new Sir Knight, says, "Sir Knight, I admonish you to be just, honourable, and faithful to the Order, or I, the cook, will hack your spurs from off your heels with my kitchen knife."

XIII

FREEMASONRY IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

427. *Freemasonry in England.*—The authentic history of Freemasonry, *i.e.* operative Masonry, in England dates from Athelstan, from whom his brother Edwin obtained a royal charter for the Masons, by which they were empowered to meet annually in a general assembly, and to have the right to regulate their own Order. And, according to this charter, the first Grand Lodge of England met at York in 926, when all the writings and records extant, in Greek, Latin, French, and other languages, were collected; and constitutions and charges in conformity with ancient usages, so far as they could be gathered therefrom, were drawn up and adopted. The Old York Masons were on that account held in especial respect, and Blue or genuine Masonry is still distinguished by the title of the York rite. After the decease of Edwin, Athelstan himself presided over the lodges; and after his death, the Masons in England were governed by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury in 960, and Edward the Confessor in 1041. Down to the present time the grand masters have been persons of royal blood, sometimes the king himself. Till the beginning of the last century, as already stated (390), they were operative masons, and the monuments of their activity are still found all over the land in abbeys, monasteries, cathedrals, hospitals, and other buildings of note. There were, indeed, periods when the Order was persecuted by the State, but these were neither so frequent nor so long as in other countries.

428. *Freemasonry in Scotland.*—Tradition says that on the destruction of the Order of Templars, many of its members took refuge in Scotland, where they incorporated themselves with the Freemasons, under the protection of Robert Bruce, who established the chief seat of the Order at Kilwinning. There is a degree of Prince of Rose-Croix de Heroden, or

Hérédom, as it is called in French. This Heroden, says an old MS. of the ancient Scotch rite, is a mountain situated in the north-west of Scotland, where the fugitive Knights Templars found a safe retreat; and the modern Order of Rose-Croix claims the kingdom of Scotland and Abbey of Kilwinning as having once been its chief seat of government. By some writers, however, it is asserted that the word Hérédom is simply a corruption of the Latin expression *hæredium*, signifying "an heritage," and alludes to the castle of St. Germain, the residence of Charles Stuart the Pretender, to further whose restoration the Order of Rose-Croix was invented. The subject is in a state of inextricable confusion, but scarcely worth the trouble of elucidation. King Robert Bruce endeavoured, like other princes before and after him, to secure for himself the supreme direction of those associations, which, though not hostile to the reigning power, could by their organisation become the *foci* of danger. It is the common opinion that this king reserved for himself and his successors the rank of grand master of the whole Order, and especially of the lodge of Hérédom, which was afterwards transferred to Edinburgh.

429. *Modern Freemasonry.*—At the beginning of the last century the operative period of Masonry may be said to have come to an end. In 1716, there being then only four lodges existing in London, a proposition was made and agreed to that the privilege of Masonry should no longer be restricted to operative masons—we have seen that it had ere then been broken through (389)—but should extend to men of various professions, provided they were regularly initiated into the Order. Thus began the present era of Masonry, retaining the original constitutions, the ancient landmarks, symbols, and ceremonies. The society, proclaiming *brotherly love*, *relief*, and *truth* as their guiding principles, obtained a wider field for their operations, and more freedom in their mode of action. But to what does this action amount? To eating, drinking, and mummery. There is nothing in the history of modern Masonry, in this country at least, that deserves to be recorded. The petty squabbles between Lodges and Orders may help to fill masonic newspapers, but for the world at large they have no interest; and as to any useful knowledge to be propagated by Masons, that is pure delusion. Yet, considering that the Order reckons its members by hundreds of thousands, its pretensions and present condition and prospects merit some consideration; and it must be admitted that its charities, in England at least, are adminis-

tered on a somewhat munificent scale. In that respect honour is due to the English craft. And Masons, at all events French Masons, object to their association being called a "Benevolent Society," for when in 1861 M. de Persigny qualified them as such, the Masons protested against it, saying that their charities were the outcome, and not the object, of their meetings. Moreover, their benevolence is not commensurate with their diffusion, and on the Continent is controlled by political considerations; thus the lodge Philadelphia, at Verviers, in 1874, declined to subscribe to the Red Cross Association, because in the Spanish war their succour would be extended to Carlists as well as to the Constitutionals.

XIV

FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE

430. *Introduction into France.*—Freemasonry was introduced into France by the partisans of James and the Pretender, as a possible means of reseating the Stuart family on the English throne. Not satisfied with turning masonic rites to unforeseen and illegitimate uses, new degrees were added to those already existing, such as those of "Irish Master," "Perfect Irish Master," and "Puissant Irish Master," and by promises of the revelation of great secrets, and leading them to believe that Freemasons were the successors of the Knights Templars, the nobility of the kingdom were attracted towards the Order, and liberally supported it with their means and influence. The first lodge established in France was that of Dunkirk (1721), under the title of "Friendship and Fraternity." The second, whose name has not been handed down, was founded in Paris in 1725 by Lord Derwentwater. Other followers of the Pretender established other lodges, of all which Lord Derwentwater was the grand master, until that nobleman lost his life for his devotion to the cause of the Stuarts in 1746.

431. *Chevalier Ramsay.*—The Chevalier Ramsay, also a devoted adherent of the house of Stuart, endeavoured more effectually to carry out the views of his predecessors, and in 1730 attempted in London to lay the basis of a masonic reform, according to which the masonic legend referred to the violent death of Charles I., while Cromwell and his partisans represented the assassins to be condemned in the lodge. He therefore proposed to the Grand Lodge of England to substitute in the place of the first three degrees those of Scotch Mason, Novice, and Knight of the Temple, which he pretended to be the only true and ancient ones, having their administrative centre in the Lodge of St. Andrew at Edinburgh. But the Grand Lodge at once rejected his views, whose objects it perceived. Ramsay went to Paris, where he met with great success. His system gave

rise to those higher degrees which have since then been known by the name of the Ancient Scotch rite. Many of these innovations made up for their want of consistency with masonic traditions by splendour of external decorations and gorgeousness of ceremonies. But the *hautes grades* of the French, and the philosophic degrees of the Ancient Scotch rite, are not innovations, but illustrations of pure symbolic Masonry.

432. *Philosophical Rites.*—Philosophy indeed began to insinuate itself into Masonry, simplifying the rites and purifying its doctrines. Among the philosophic degrees then introduced, that of the "Knights of the Sun" is noteworthy. Its declared scope was to advocate natural, in opposition to revealed, religion. There is but one light in the lodge, which shines from behind a globe of water, to represent the sun. It has some resemblance to the "Sublime Knight Elected." But, on the other hand, by these innovations systems multiplied, and the Order served as a pretext and defence of institutions having no connection with Masonry. Cabala, magic, conjuration, divination, alchemy, and demonology were taught in the lodges. These abuses led to the establishment of an administrative centre at Arras in 1747. Another was founded at Marseilles in 1751. Three years afterwards the Chevalier de Bonneville founded in Paris a chapter of the high degrees, with the title, afterwards become famous, of the "Chapter of Clermont," and lodged it in a sumptuous palace built by him in a suburb of Paris. The system adopted was to some extent that of Ramsay. Another chapter, in opposition to his, was founded in 1762, with the title of "Council of the Knights of the East." In 1766, the Baron Tschudy founded the Order of the "Blazing Star," in which ideas derived from the Temple and the Jesuits were strangely intermingled.

433. *The Duke de Chartres.*—Freemasonry in France was not without influence on the Revolution. The Duke de Chartres having been elected grand master, all the lodges were united under the Grand Orient; hence the immense influence he afterwards wielded. The mode of his initiation is thus related: Before becoming grand master he was received into the degree of Knight of Kadosh. Five brethren introduced him into a hall, representing a grotto strewn with human bones, and lighted up with sepulchral lamps. In one of the angles was a lay figure covered with royal insignia. The introducers bade him lie down on the ground like one dead, naming the degrees through which he had already

passed, and repeating the former oaths. Afterwards, they extolled the degree into which he was about to be received. Having bidden him to rise, he was made to ascend a high ladder, and to throw himself from the top. Having then armed him with a dagger, they commanded him to strike the crowned figure, and a liquid resembling blood spurted from the wound over his hands and clothes. He was then told to cut off the head of the figure. Finally, he was informed that the bones with which the cave was strewn came from the body of James Molay, Grand Master of the Order of the Temple, and that the man whom he had stabbed was Philip the Fair, King of France. The Grand Orient was established in a mansion formerly belonging to the Jesuits in Paris, and became a revolutionary centre. The share the Grand Orient, the tool of the Duke de Chartres, took in the events of the French Revolution is matter of public history.

XV

THE CHAPTER OF CLERMONT AND THE STRICT OBSERVANCE

434. *Jesuitical Influence.*—Catholic ceremonies, unknown in ancient Freemasonry, were introduced from 1735 to 1740, in the Chapter of Clermont, so called in honour of Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Clermont, at the time grand master of the Order in France. From that time, the influence of the Jesuits on the fraternity made itself more and more felt. The candidate was no longer received in a lodge, but in the city of Jerusalem; not the ideal Jerusalem, but a clerical Jerusalem, typifying Rome. The meetings were called *Capitula Canonicorum*, and a monkish language and asceticism prevailed therein. In the statutes is seen the hand of James Lainez, the second general of the Jesuits, and the aim at universal empire betrays itself, for at the reception of the sublime knights the last two chapters of the Apocalypse are read to the candidate—a glowing picture of that universal monarchy which the Jesuits hoped to establish. The sect spread very rapidly, for when Baron Hund came to Paris in 1742, and was received into the highest Jesuit degrees he found on his return to Germany that those degrees were already established in Saxony and Thuringia, under the government of Marshall, whose labours he undertook to promote.

435. *The Strict Observance.*—From the exertions of these two men arose the "Rite of Strict Observance," so called, because Baron Hund introduced into it a perfectly monkish subordination, and which seemed also for a time intended to favour the tragic hopes of the house of Stuart; for Marshall, having visited Paris in 1741, there entered into close connection with Ramsay and the other adherents of the exiled family. To further this object, Hund mixed up with the rites of Clermont what was known or supposed to be known of the statutes of the Templars, and acting in concert with

Marshall, overran Germany with a sect of new Templars, not to be confounded with the Templars that afterwards joined the masonic fraternity. But Hund seems after all to have rendered no real services to the Stuarts; though when Charles Edward visited Germany, the sectaries received him in the most gallant manner, promising him the most extensive support, and asking of him titles and estates in a kingdom which he had yet to conquer. Thus he was brought to that state of mental intoxication which afterwards led him to make an absurd entry into Rome, preceded by heralds, who proclaimed him king. Hund seems, in the sad story of the Stuarts, to have acted the part of a speculator; and the rite of the Strict Observance, permeated by the Jesuitical leaven, had probably an aim very different from the re-establishment of the proscribed dynasty. It is certain that at one time the power of the New Templars was very great, and prepared the way for the Illuminati.

XVI

THE RELAXED OBSERVANCE

436. *Organisation of Relaxed Observance.*—In 1767, there arose at Vienna a schism of the Strict Observance; the dissentients, who called themselves "Clerks of the Relaxed Observance"—the nickname of Relaxed Observance had originally been applied by the members of the Strict Observance, as a term of contempt to all other rites—declaring that they alone possessed the secrets of the association, and knew the place where were deposited the splendid treasures of the Templars. They also claimed precedence, not only over the rite of Strict Observance, but also over all Masonry. Their promises and instructions revolved around the philosopher's stone, the government of spirits, and the millennium. To be initiated it was necessary to be a Roman Catholic, and to have passed through all the degrees of the Strict Observance. The members knew only their immediate heads; but Doctor Stark, of Königsberg, a famous preacher, and Baron Raven, of Mecklenburg, were well-known chiefs of the association.

437. *Disputes in German Lodges.*—Before the establishment of the Strict Observance, various German lodges had already introduced the Templar system; hence disputes of all kinds arose, and a convention was held at Brunswick on 22nd May 1775 to arrange the differences. Dr. Stark presented himself; he was a disciple of Schröpfer and of Gugumos, who called himself high-priest, knight, prince, possessor of the philosopher's stone, of the secret to evoke the spirits of the dead, &c. Stark declared to the members of the convention that he was called *Archimedes ab aquila fulva*, that he was chancellor of the Grand Chapter of Scotland, and had been invited by the brethren of that supreme body to instruct them in the true principles of the Order. But when he was asked to produce his credentials, he refused. The Brunswickers, however, thinking that the brethren of Aberdeen might possess some secrets, sent a deputation thither; but the good folks of

Aberdeen knew even less than their German friends, for they knew only the first three degrees. Stark, though found out, was not to be put down, but wrote a book entitled "The Coping Stone," in which he represented the Strict Observance as hostile to religion, society, and the state.

438. *Rite of Zinzendorf.*—This was not the first attack made on the system of Hund. In 1766, Count Zinzendorf, chief physician in the Prussian army, who had been received into the Strict Observance, was struck from the list of members of the lodge of the Three Globes. In revenge, he founded at Berlin and Potsdam lodges on the Templar system, which, however, he soon abandoned, and composed a new rite, invented by himself, and consisting of seven degrees, which was protected by Frederick the Great. The new Order made fierce and successful war both on the Strict and the Relaxed Observance.

439. *African Architects.*—About 1765, Brother Von Kopper instituted in Prussia, under the auspices of Frederick II., the Order of "African Architects," who occupied themselves with historical researches, mixing up therewith masonry and chivalry. The order was divided into eleven degrees. They erected a vast building, which contained a large library, a museum of natural history, and a chemical laboratory. Until 1786, when it was dissolved, the society awarded every year a gold medal with fifty ducats to the author of the best memoir on the history of Masonry. This was one of the few rational masonic societies. The African Architects did not esteem decorations, aprons, collars, jewels, &c. In their assemblies they read essays, and communicated the results of their researches. At their simple and decorous banquets, instructive and scientific discourses were delivered. While their initiations were gratuitous, they gave liberal assistance to zealous but needy brethren. They published many important works on Freemasonry.

XVII

THE CONGRESS OF WILHELMSBAD

440. *Various Congresses.*—To put an end to the numerous disputes raging among masonic bodies, various congresses were held. In 1778, a congress was convened at Lyons; it lasted a month, but was without result. In 1785, another was held at Paris, but the time was wasted in idle disputes with Cagliostro. The most important was that which assembled at Wilhelmsbad in 1782, under the presidency of the Duke of Brunswick, who was anxious to end the discord reigning among German Freemasons. It was attended by Masons from Europe, America, and Asia. From an approximative estimate, it appears that there were then upwards of three millions of Masons in the different parts of the globe.

441. *Discussions at Wilhelmsbad.*—The statements contained in Dr. Stark's book, "The Coping Stone" (437), concerning the influence of the Jesuits in the masonic body, formed one of the chief topics discussed. Some of the chiefs of the Strict Observance produced considerable confusion by being unable to give information concerning the secrets of the high degrees, which they had professed to know; or to render an account of large sums they had received on behalf of the Order. The main point was to settle whether Masonry was to be considered as a continuation of the Order of the Templars, and whether the secrets of the sect were to be sought for in the modern Templar degrees. After thirty sittings, the answer was in the negative; the chiefs of the Strict Observance were defeated, and the Duke of Brunswick suspended the Order for three years, from which blow it never recovered. The Swedes professed to possess all the secrets; the Duke of Brunswick hastened to Upsala to learn them, but found that the Swedes knew no more than the Germans; whence new dissensions arose between the Masons of the two nations.

442. *Result of Convention.*—The result of the convention

of Wilhelmsbad was the retention of the three symbolical degrees, with the addition of a new degree, that of the "Knights of Beneficence," which was based on the principles enunciated in St. Martin's book, *Des Erreurs et de la Vérité*, and the *Tableau Naturel*. The foundation of the new Order was attributed to the influence of the Jesuits, because the three initial letters of *Chevaliers Bienfaisants*, C.H.B., are equal to 3, 8, 2 = 13, signifying the letter N, meaning *Nostri*. Another result was a league between Masonry and the Illuminati—and it is still a matter of speculation whether these latter were not behind the Jesuits—brought about by the exertions of Spartacus or Weishaupt, who had long ago discerned the influence he could obtain by the co-operation of the Masons, whom he, of course, employed as his unconscious tools. But Jesuitical influence, at that time, was too powerful to be overcome; they sided with, and thus strengthened the influence of, the duke; hence the opposition of Germany to the principles of the French Revolution, which broke out soon after—an opposition which was like discharging a rocket against a thunderbolt, but which was carried to its height by the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, so loudly praised by courtly historians, and of which the German princes made such good use as to induce the German confederacy to surround France with a fiery line of deluded patriotism. Freemasonry had been made the tool of prince- and priest-craft, though occasionally it turned the tables on the prince, an instance of which is recorded in the next paragraph.

443. *Frederick William III. and the Masons.*—The sudden retreat of the King of Prussia of this name, after having invaded France in 1792, has never been satisfactorily explained. Dr. E. E. Eckert, in his "Magazine of Evidence for the Condemnation of the Masonic Order," writes as follows, quoting from a private letter from M. V——z, of Paris, to Baron von S——z, at Vienna, which he qualifies as "thoroughly reliable":—"The King of Prussia had crossed our frontiers; he was, I believe, at Verdun or Thionville. One evening a confidential attendant gave him the masonic sign, and took him into a subterranean vault, where he left him alone. By the light of the lamps illuminating the room, the king saw his ancestor, Frederick the Great, approaching him. There could be no mistake as to his voice, dress, gait, features. The spirit reproached the king with his alliance with Austria against France, and commanded him immediately to withdraw therefrom. You

know that the king acted accordingly, to the great disgust of his allies, to whom he did not communicate the reasons of his withdrawal. Some years afterwards our celebrated actor Fleury, who acquired such reputation by his performance at the *Théâtre Français* in "The Two Pages," in which piece he represented Frederick the Great to perfection, confessed that he acted the ghost when Frederick William III. was mystified by an appearance, which had been planned by General Dumouriez." Dumouriez was a Freemason.

XVIII

MASONRY AND NAPOLEONISM

444. *Masonry protected by Napoleon.*—With renewed court frivolities and military pomp, the theatrical spirit of Masonry revived. The institution, so active before and during the Revolution, because it was governed by men who rightly understood and worthily represented its principles, during the Empire fell into academic puerilities, servile compliance, and endless squabbles. That period, which masonic writers, attached to the latter and pleased with its apparent splendour, call the most flourishing of French Masonry, in the eyes of independent judges appears as the least important and the least honourable for the masonic order. Napoleon at first intended to suppress Freemasonry, in which the dreaded *ideologists* might easily find a refuge. The representative system of the Grand Orient clashed with his monarchical principles, and the oligarchy of the Scotch rite aroused his suspicions. The Parisian lodges, however, practised in the art of flattery, prostrated themselves before the First Consul, prostrated themselves before the Emperor, and sued for grace. The suspicions of Napoleon were not dissipated; but he perceived the policy of avoiding violent measures, and of disciplining a body that might turn against him. The lodges were inundated with the lowest police agents, who rapidly attained the highest degrees, and seized at the very outset the clue of any political intrigue which might be concocted there. Napoleon, after considerable hesitation, declared in favour of the Grand Orient, and the Scotch rite had to assume the second place. A single word of Napoleon had done more to establish peace between them than all former machinations. The Grand Orient became a court office, and Masonry an army of *employés*. The Grand Mastership was offered to Joseph Napoleon, who accepted it, though never initiated into Freemasonry, with the consent of his brother, who, however, for greater security, insisted on having his trusty arch-chancellor Cambacérès appointed

Grand Master Adjunct, to be in reality the only head of the Order. Gradually all the rites existing in France gave in their adhesion to the imperial policy, electing Cambacérès as their chief dignitary, so that he eventually possessed more masonic titles than any other man before or after him. In 1805 he was made Grand Master Adjunct of the Grand Orient; in 1806, Sovereign Grand Master of the Supreme Grand Council; in the same year, Grand Master of the rite of Heroden of Kilwinning; in 1807, Supreme Head of the French rite; in the same year, Grand Master of the Philosophic Scotch rite; in 1808, Grand Master of the Order of Christ; in 1809, National Grand Master of the Knights of the Holy City; in the same year, Protector of the High Philosophic Degrees. As every new lodge established in France had to pay the grand master a heavy fee, Masonry yielded to him an annual revenue of two millions of francs.

445. *Spread of Freemasonry.*—But masonic disputes soon again ran high. The arch-chancellor, accustomed and attached to the usages and pomps of courts, secretly gave the preference to the Scotch rite, with its high-sounding titles and gorgeous ceremonies. The Grand Orient carried its complaints even to Napoleon, who grew weary of these paltry farces—he who planned grand dramas; and at one time he had determined on abolishing the Order altogether, but Cambacérès succeeded in arresting his purpose, showing him the dangers that might ensue from its suppression—dangers which must have appeared great, since Napoleon, who never hesitated, hesitated then, and allowed another to alter his views. Perhaps he recognised the necessity in French society of a body of men who were free at least in appearance, of a kind of political safety-valve. The French had taken a liking to their lodges, where they found a phantom of independence, and might consider themselves on neutral ground, so that a masonic writer could say: "In the bosom of Masonry there circulates a little of that vital air so necessary to generous minds." The Scotch rite, secretly protected, spread throughout the French departments and foreign countries, and whilst the Grand Orient tried to suppress it, and to prevent innovations, elected a "Director of Rites," the Supreme Grand Council established itself at Milan, and elected Prince Eugene Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy. The two highest masonic authorities, which yet had the same master in Cambacérès, and the same patron in Napoleon, continued to combat each other with as much fury as was shown in the struggle be-

tween France and England. But having no public life, no parliamentary debates, no opposition journals, the greater part of the population took refuge in the lodges, and every small town had its own. In 1812, there existed one thousand and eighty-nine lodges, all depending on the Grand Orient; the army had sixty-nine, and the lodge was opened and closed with the cry, *Vive l'Empereur!*

446. *The Clover Leaves.*—This was an Order founded in Germany about 1808 by John de Witt, called Von Dörring (555), a member of almost every secret society then existing, embracing some of the greatest German statesmen, to further the plans of Napoleon, in the hope that his successes might lead to the mediatisation of all German states, which, with France, were to form but one empire. The name was derived from the fact that three members only were known to one another.

447. *Obsequiousness of Freemasonry.*—Napoleon, unable and unwilling to suppress Freemasonry, employed it in the army, in the newly-occupied territories, and in such as he intended to occupy. Imperial proselytism turned the lodges into schools of Napoleonism. But one section of Masonry, under the shadow of that protection, became the very contrary, anti-Napoleonic; and not *all* the lodges closed their accustomed labours with the cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* It is, however, quite certain that Napoleon by means of the masonic society facilitated or secured his conquests. Spain, Germany, and Italy were covered with lodges—antechambers, more than any others, of prefectures and military command—presided over and governed by soldiers. The highest dignitaries of Masonry at that period were marshals, knights of the Legion of Honour, nobles of ancient descent, senators, councillors, all safe and trusty persons; a state that obeyed the orders of Cambacérès, as he obeyed the orders of Napoleon. Obsequiousness came near to the ridiculous. The half-yearly words of command of the Grand Orient retrace the history of Napoleonic progress. In 1800, "Science and Peace"; in 1802, after Marengo, "Unity and Success"; in 1804, after the coronation, "Contentment and Greatness"; after the battle of Friedland, "Emperor and Confidence"; after the suppression of the tribune, "Fidelity"; at the birth of the King of Rome, "Posterity and Joy"; at the departure of the army for Russia, "Victory and Return"—terrible victory, and unfortunate return!

448. *Anti-Napoleonic Freemasonry.*—Napoleon, we have seen, made a league with Freemasonry to obtain its support.

He is also said to have made certain promises to it; but as he failed to keep them, the Masons turned against him, and had a large share in his fall. This, however, is not very probable, and is attributing too much influence to an Order which had only recently recovered itself. Still, the anti-Napoleonic leaven fermented in the Masonic society. Savary, the minister of police, was aware of it in 1810, and wanted to apply to the secret meetings of Freemasons the article of the penal code, forbidding them; but Cambacérès once more saved the institution, which saved neither him nor his patron. Freemasonry, if not by overt acts, at least by its indifference, helped on the downfall of Napoleon. But it was not altogether inactive, for even whilst the Napoleonic star illumined almost alone the political heavens of Europe, a Masonic lodge was formed whose object was the restoration of the Bourbons, whose action may be proved by official documents to have extended through the French army, and led to the seditious movements of 1813.

XIX

FREEMASONRY, THE RESTORATION AND THE SECOND EMPIRE

449. *The Society of "France Regenerated."*—The Restoration, whose blindness was only equalled by its mediocrity—which, unable to create, proposed to itself to destroy what even time respects, the memories and glories of a people—could not please Freemasonry much. Hostile to Napoleon in his last years, it could not approve of the conduct of the new government. At all events, the Freemasons held aloof, though cynics might suggest that this was done with a view of exacting better terms. In the meanwhile, a society was formed in Paris, which, assuming masonic forms and the title of "France Regenerated," became an instrument of espionage and revenge in the hands of the new despot. But the very government in whose favour it acted, found it necessary within a year from its foundation silently to suppress it; for it found the rabid zeal of these adherents to be more injurious to its interests than the open opposition of its avowed enemies.

450. *Priestly Opposition to Masonry.*—The Masonic propaganda, however, was actively carried on. The priests, on their part, considered the moment come for inaugurating an anti-masonic crusade. Under Napoleon the priesthood could not breathe; the court was closed against it, except on grand occasions, when its presence was needed to add outward pomp to imperial successes. As the masters of ceremonies, the priests had ceased in France to be the councillors and confessors of its rulers; but now they reassumed those functions, and the Masons were at once recommended to the hatred of the king and the mistrust of the public. They were represented as abettors of rationalism and regicide; the consequence was, that a great many lodges were closed, though, on the other hand, the rite of Misraim was established in Paris in 1816, whose mother lodge was called the "Rainbow," a presage of serenity and calm, which, however,

did not save the society from police persecution. In 1821, this lodge was closed, and not reopened till 1830. Towards the same time was founded the lodge of "Trinosophists." In 1821, the Supreme Grand Council rose to the surface again, and with it the disputes between it and the Grand Orient. To enter into their squabbles would be a sad waste of time, and I therefore pass them over.

451. *Political Insignificance of Masonry.*—The Freemasons are said to have brought about the July revolution of 1830, but proofs are wanting, and I think they may be absolved from that charge. Louis-Philippe, who was placed on the throne by that revolution, took the Order under his protection, and appointed his son, the Duke of Orleans, Grand Master. On the Duke's death, in 1842, his brother, the Duke de Nemours, succeeded him in the dignity. In this latter year, the disputes between the Grand Orient and the Supreme Grand Council were amicably settled. Again we are told that at a masonic congress held at Strasburg the foundations of the revolution of 1848 were laid. It is certain that Cavaignac, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Prudhon, Louis Blanc, Marrast, Vilain, Pyat, and a great number of German republicans, attended that congress, but for this reason it cannot strictly be called a masonic, it was rather a republican, meeting. On the establishment of the Provisional Government after the revolution of 1848, the Freemasons gave in their adhesion to that government; on which occasion some high-flown speeches about liberty, equality, and fraternity were made, and everybody congratulated his neighbour that now the reign of universal brotherhood had begun. But the restoration of the Empire, which followed soon after, showed how idle all this oratory had been, and how the influence of Masonry in the great affairs of the world really is *nil.*

452. *Freemasonry and Napoleon III.*—Again the Napoleonic air waves around the Grand Orient. The nephew showed himself from the first as hostile to Freemasonry as his uncle had been; but the decree prohibiting the French lodges from occupying themselves with political questions, under pain of the dissolution of the Order, did not appear until the 7th September 1850. In January 1852, some superior members of the Order proposed to offer the dignity of Grand Master to Lucien Murat, the President's cousin. The proposal was unanimously agreed to; and on the 19th of the same month the new Grand Master was acknowledged by all the lodges. He held the office till 1861, when he was

obliged to resign in consequence of the masonic body having passed a vote of censure upon him for his expressions in favour of the temporal power of the Pope, uttered in the stormy discussion of the French Senate in the month of June of that year. The Grand Orient was again all in confusion. Napoleon III. now interfered, especially as Prince Napoleon was proposed for the office of Grand Master; which excited the jealousy of the Muratists, who published pamphlets of the most vituperative character against their adversaries, who on their side replied with corresponding bitterness. Napoleon imposed silence on the litigants, prohibited attendance at lodges, promised that he himself would appoint a Grand Master, and advised his cousin to undertake a long voyage to the United States. Deprived of the right of electing its own chief, the autonomy of Freemasonry became an illusion, its programme useless, and its mystery a farce. In the meanwhile, the quarrels of the partisans of the different candidates calmed down; Prince Napoleon returned from America; Murat resigned himself to this defeat, as to others, and the Emperor forgot all about Freemasonry. At last, in January 1862, there appeared a decree appointing Marshal Magnan to be Grand Master. A Marshal! The nephew, in this instance, as in many others, had taken a leaf out of his uncle's book.

453. *Jesuitical Manœuvres.*—Napoleonic Freemasonry, not entirely to lose its peculiar physiognomy, ventured to change its institutions. Jesuitism cast loving eyes on it, and drew it towards itself, as in the days of the Strict Observance. Murat threw out his net, but was removed just when it was most important for the interests of the Jesuits that he should have remained. He proposed to transform the French lodges—of which, in 1852, there were 325, whilst in 1861 only 269 could be found—into societies of mutual succour, and to abandon or submit the higher masonic sphere of morality and humanity to the society, which in these last sixty years has already overcome and incorporated the whole Roman clergy, once its rivals, and by oblique paths also many of the conservative sects of other creeds. Murat did not succeed, but others may; and though the Masons say that Jesuitism shall not succeed, yet, how is Freemasonry, that professes to meddle neither with politics nor religion, to counteract the political and religious machinations of the Jesuits? And even if Freemasonry had the same weapons, are there men among the Order able to wield

them with the ability and fearlessness that distinguish the followers of Loyola? I fear not.

Besides, the Masons, though they talk loudly of fraternisation and equality, when driven at bay become the stanchest conservatives, wherefore the International at Lyons, in the year 1870, solemnly excommunicated Freemasonry, and in 1880 exacted from every candidate for admission to the society a declaration that he was not a Mason.

XX

FREEMASONRY IN ITALY

454. *Whimsical Masonic Societies.*—We have but few notices of the early state of Freemasonry in Italy. We are told that in 1512 there was founded at Florence a society under the name of "The Trowel," composed of learned and literary men, who indulged in all kinds of whimsical freaks, and who may have served as prototypes to the Order of "The Monks of the Screw," established towards the end of the last century in Ireland. Thus at one time they would meet in the lodge, dressed as masons and labourers, and begin to erect an edifice with trays full of macaroni and cheese, using spices and bonbons for mortar, and rolls and cakes for stones, and building up the whole with all kinds of comestibles. And thus they went on until a pretended rain put an end to their labours. At another time it was Ceres, who, in search of Proserpine, invited the Brethren of the Trowel to accompany her to the infernal regions. They followed her through the mouth of a serpent into a dark room, and on Pluto inviting them to the feast, lights appeared, and the table was seen to be covered with black, whilst the dishes on it were foul and obscene animals, and bones of dead men, served by devils carrying shovels. Finally all this vanished, and a choice banquet followed. This Society of the Trowel was in existence in 1737. The clergy endeavoured to suppress it, and would no doubt have succeeded, but for the accession of Francis, Duke of Tuscany, who had been initiated in Holland, and who set free all the Freemasons that had been incarcerated, and protected the Order. But the remembrance of that persecution is preserved in the rituals, and in the degree of "Magus," the costume is that of the Holy Office, as other degrees commemorate the inquisitors of Portugal and Spain.

455. *Illuminati in Italy.*—The sect of the Illuminati, of whom Count Filippo Strozzi was a warm partisan, soon after spread through Italy, as well as another Order, affiliated with

the Illuminati, mystical and alchymistical, and in opposition to the Rosicrucians, called the "Initiated Brethren of Asia," which had been founded at Vienna. It only accepted candidates who had passed through the first three degrees of the York rite. Like Egyptian Masonry, it worshipped the Tetragrammaton, and combined the deepest and most philosophical ideas with the most curious superstitions.

456. *Freemasonry at Naples.*—In the kingdom of Naples the Masons amounted to many thousands. An edict of Charles III. (1751), and another of Ferdinand IV. (1759), closed the lodges, but in a short time the edicts became a dead letter, and in vain did the minister, Tanucci, hostile to the institution, seek to revive them. The incident of a neophyte dying a few days after his initiation gave a pretext for fresh persecution. The Masons, assembled at a banquet, were arrested; and in vain did Lévy, a lawyer, undertake their defence. He was expelled the kingdom; his book in favour of the Order was publicly burnt by the executioner. But Queen Caroline, having dismissed Tanucci, again sanctioned masonic meetings, for which she received the thanks of the Grand Orient of France. It would seem, however, that in a very few years Freemasonry again had to hide its head, for in 1767 we hear of it as a "secret" society, whose existence has just been discovered. The document which records this discovery puts the number of Freemasons at 64,000, which probably is an exaggeration; still, among so excitable a population as that of Southern Italy, secret societies at all times found plenty of proselytes.

457. *Details of Document.*—The document referred to says: At last the great mine of the Freemasons of Naples is discovered, of whom the name, but not the secret, was known. Two circumstances are alleged by which the discovery was brought about: a dying man revealed all to his confessor, that he should inform the king thereof; a knight, who had been kept in great state by the society, having had his pension withheld, betrayed the Grand Master of the Order to the king. This Grand Master was the Duke of San Severo. The king secretly sent a confidential officer with three dragoons to the duke's mansion, with orders to seize him before he had time to speak to any one, and bring him to the palace. The order was carried out; but a few minutes after a fire broke out in the duke's mansion, destroying his library, the real object being, as is supposed, to burn all writings having reference to Freemasonry. The fire was extinguished, and the house guarded by troops. The duke having been brought

before the king, openly declared the objects, systems, seals, government, and possessions of the Order. He was sent back to his palace, and there guarded by troops, lest he should be killed by his former colleagues. Freemasons have also been discovered at Florence, and the Pope and the Emperor have sent thither twenty-four theologians to put a stop to the disorder. The king acts with the greatest mercy towards all implicated, to avoid the great dangers that might ensue from a contrary course. He has also appointed four persons of great standing to use the best means to destroy so abominable a sect; and has given notice to all the other sovereigns of Europe of his discovery, and the abominable maxims of the sect, calling upon them to assist in its suppression, which it will be folly in them to refuse to do. For the Order does not count its members by thousands, but by millions, especially among Jews and Protestants. Their frightful maxims are only known to the members of the fifth, sixth, and seventh lodges, while those of the first three know nothing, and those of the fourth act without knowing, what they do. They derive their origin from England, and the founder of the sect was that infamous Cromwell, first bishop, and then lover of Anne Boleyn, and then beheaded for his crimes, called in his day "the scourge of rulers." He left the Order an annual income of £10,000 sterling. It is divided into seven lodges: the members of the seventh are called Assessors; of the sixth, Grand Masters; of the fifth, Architects; of the fourth, Executors (here the secret ends); of the third, Ruricori (!); of the second and first, Novices and Proselytes. Their infamous idea is based on the allegory of the temple of Solomon, considered in its first splendour, and then overthrown by the tyranny of the Assyrians, and finally restored—thereby to signify the liberty of man after the creation of the world, the tyranny of the priesthood, kings, and laws, and the re-establishment of that liberty. Then follow twelve maxims in which these opinions and aims are more fully expounded, from which it appears that they were not very different from those of all other republican and advanced politicians.

458. *Freemasonry at Venice.*—The Freemasons were at first tolerated at Venice, but in 1686 the government suddenly took the alarm, and ordered the closing of all lodges, and banished the members; but the decree was very leniently executed, and a lodge of nobles having refused to obey, the magistrates entered it at a time when they knew no one to be there. The furniture, ornaments, and jewels were carried out and publicly burnt or dispersed, but none of the

brethren were in any way molested. A lodge was re-established afterwards, which was discovered in 1785, when all its contents were again burnt or otherwise destroyed. From the ritual, which was found among the other effects, it appears that the candidate for initiation was led, his eyes being bandaged, from street to street, or canal to canal, so as to prevent his tracing the locality, to the Rio Marino, where he was first conducted into a room hung with black, and illumined by a single light; there he was clothed in a long garment like a winding sheet, but black; he put on a cap something like a turban, and his hair was drawn over his face, and in this elegant figure he was placed before a looking-glass, covered with a black curtain, under which were written the words, "If thou hast true courage, and an honest desire to enter into the Order, draw aside the curtain, and learn to know thyself." He might then remove the bandage and look at himself. He was then again blindfolded, and placed in the middle of the room, while thirty or forty members entered and began to fight with swords. This was to try the candidate's courage, who was himself slightly wounded. The bandage was once more removed, and the wound dressed. Then it was replaced, and the candidate taken to a second apartment, hung with black and white, and having in the middle a bed covered with a black cloth, on the centre of which was a white cross, whilst on either side was represented a white skeleton. The candidate was laid on the bed, the bandage being removed, and he was there left with two tapers, the one white, the other yellow. After having been left there for some time, the brethren entered in a boisterous manner, beating discordant drums. The candidate was to show no sign of trepidation amidst all these elaborate ceremonies; and then the members embraced him as a brother, and gave him the name by which he was henceforth to be known in the society.

459. *Abatement under Napoleon.*—During the reign of Napoleon I., numerous lodges were founded throughout Italy; and it cannot be denied by the greatest friends of the Order, that during that period Freemasonry cut a most pitiful figure. For a society that always boasted of its independence of, and superiority to, all other earthly governments, to forward addresses such as the following to Napoleon, seems something like self-abasement and self-stultification:—"O Napoleon! thy philosophy guarantees the toleration of our natural and divine religion. We render thee honour worthy of thee for it,

and thou shalt find in us nothing but faithful subjects, ever devoted to thy august person!"

460. *The Freemasonry of the Present in Italy.*—Very little need, or can, be said as regards the active proceedings of Italian masonic lodges of the present day, though they have been reconstituted and united under one or two heads. But their programme deserves attention, as pointing out those reforms, needed not only in Italy, but everywhere where Freemasonry exists. The declared object, then, of Italian Freemasonry is, the highest development of universal philanthropy; the independence and unity of single nations, and fraternity among each other; the toleration of every religion, and absolute equality of worship; the moral and material progress of the masses. It moreover declares itself independent of every government, affirming that Italian Freemasonry will not recognise any other sovereign power on earth but right reason and universal conscience. It further declares —and this deserves particular attention—that Freemasonry is not to consist in a mysterious symbolism, vain ceremonies, or indefinite aspirations, which cover the Order with ridicule. Again, Masonry being universal, essentially human, it does not occupy itself with forms of government, nor with transitory questions, but with such as are permanent and general. In social reforms abstract theories, founded on mystical aspirations, are to be avoided. The duty of labour being the most essential in civil society, Freemasonry is opposed to idleness. Religious questions are beyond the pale of Freemasonry. Human conscience is in itself inviolable; it has no concern with any positive religion, but represents religion itself in its essence. Devoted to the principle of fraternity, it preaches universal toleration; comprehends in its ritual many of the symbols of various religions, as in its syncretism it chooses the purest truths. Its creed consists in the worship of the Divine, whose highest conception, withdrawn from every priestly speculation, is that of the Great Architect of the Universe; and in faith in humanity, the sole interpreter of the Divine in the world. As to extrinsic modes of worship, Freemasonry neither imposes nor recommends any, leaving to every one his free choice, until the day, perhaps not far distant, when all men will be capable of worshipping the Infinite in spirit and in truth, without intermediaries and outward forms. And whilst man in his secret relations to the Infinite fecundates the religious thought, he in his relations to the Universe fecundates the scientific thought. Science is truth, and the most ancient cultus of Freemasonry.

In determining the relations of the individual to his equals, Freemasonry does not restrict itself to recommending to do unto others what we wish others would do unto us; but inculcates to do good, oppose evil, and not to submit to injustice in whatsoever form it presents itself. Freemasonry looks forward to the day when the iron plates of the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* will be beaten into steam-ploughs; when man, redeemed by liberty and science, shall enjoy the pure pleasures of intelligence; when peace, fertilised by the wealth and strength now devoted to war, shall bring forth the most beautiful fruit of the tree of life.

461. *Reform needed.*—Greatly, therefore, is the academic puerility of rites to be regretted, which drags back into the past an institution that ought to launch forward into the future. It is self-evident that Freemasonry in this state cannot last, that a reform is necessary; and as De Castro, from whom the above is taken, thinks that it would be an honour to Italy to be the leader in such a reform, it would be an honour to any country that initiated it. Masonry ought not to be an ambulance, but a vanguard. It is embarrassed by its excessive baggage, its superfluous symbols. Guarding secrets universally known, it cannot entertain secrets of greater account. Believing itself to be the sole depositary of widely-spread truths, it deprives itself and the world of other truths. In this perplexity and alternative of committing suicide or being born anew, what will Masonry decide on?

XXI

CAGLIOSTRO AND EGYPTIAN MASONRY

462. *Life of Cagliostro.*—Joseph Balsamo, the disciple and successor of St. Germain, who pretended at the Court of Louis XV. to have been the contemporary of Charles V., Francis I., and Christ, and to possess the elixir of life and many other secrets, had vaster designs and a loftier ambition than his teacher, and was one of the most active agents of Freemasonry in France and the rest of Europe. He was born at Palermo in 1743, and educated at two convents in that city, where he acquired some chemical knowledge. As a young man, he fell in with an Armenian, or Greek, or Spaniard, called Althotas, a kind of adventurer, who professed to possess the philosopher's stone, with whom he led a roving life for a number of years. What became of Althotas at last is not positively known. Balsamo at last found his way to Rome, where he married the beautiful Lorenza Feliciani, whom he treated so badly, that she escaped from him; but he recovered her, and acquired great influence over her by magnetically operating upon her. There is no doubt that he was a powerful magnetiser. Visiting Germany, he was initiated into Freemasonry, in which he soon began to take a prominent part. He also assumed different titles, such as that of Marquis of Pellegrini, but the one he is best known by is that of Count Cagliostro; and by his astuteness, impudence, and some lucky hits at prophesying, he acquired a European notoriety and made many dupes, including persons of the highest rank, especially in France, where he founded many new masonic lodges. He was the author of a book called "The Rite of Egyptian Masonry," which rite he established first in Courland, and afterwards in Germany, France, and England. After having been banished from France, in consequence of his implication in the affair of the queen's necklace, and driven from England by his creditors, he was induced by his wife, who was weary of her wandering life, and anxious once more to see her relations, to visit

Rome, where he was arrested on the charge of attempting to found a masonic lodge, against which a papal bull had recently been promulgated, and thrown into the Castle of St. Angelo, in 1789. He was condemned to death, but the punishment was commuted to perpetual imprisonment. His wife was shut up in a convent, and died soon after. Having been transferred to the Castle of San Leo, he attempted to strangle the monk sent to confess him, in the hope of escaping in his gown; but the attempt failed, and it is supposed that he died, a prisoner, in 1795.

463. *The Egyptian Rite.*—The Egyptian rite invented by Cagliostro is a mixture of the sacred and profane, of the serious and laughable. Having discovered a MS. of George Cofton, in which was propounded a singular scheme for the reform of Freemasonry in an alchymistic and fantastic sense, Cagliostro founded thereon the bases of his masonic system, taking advantage of human credulity, enriching himself, and at the same time seconding the action of other secret societies. He gave his dupes to understand that the scope of Egyptian Masonry was to conduct men to perfection by means of physical and moral regeneration; asserting that the former was infallible through the *prima materia* and the philosopher's stone, which assured to man the strength of youth and immortality, and that the second was to be achieved by the discovery of a pentagon that would restore man to his primitive innocence. This rite indeed is a tissue of fatuities it would not be worth while to allude to, did it not offer matter for study to the philosopher and moralist. Cagliostro pretended that the rite had been first founded by Enoch, remodelled by Elias, and finally restored by the Grand Copt. Both men and women were admitted into the lodges, though the ceremonies for each were slightly different, and the lodges for their reception entirely distinct. In the reception of women, among other formalities there was that of breathing into the face of the neophyte, saying, "I breathe upon you this breath to cause to germinate in you and grow in your heart the truth we possess; I breathe it into you to strengthen in you good intentions, and to confirm you in the faith of your brothers and sisters. We constitute you a legitimate daughter of true Egyptian adoption and of this worshipful lodge." One of the lodges was called "Sinai," where the most secret rites were performed; another "Ararat," to symbolise the rest reserved for Masons only. Concerning the pentagon, Cagliostro taught that it would be given to the masters after forty days of inter-

course with the seven primitive angels, and that its possessors would enjoy a physical regeneration for 5557 years, after which they would through gentle sleep pass into heaven. The pentagon had as much success with the upper ten thousand of London, Paris, and St. Petersburg, as the philosopher's stone ever enjoyed; and large sums were given for a few grains of the rejuvenating *prima materia*.

464. *Cagliostro's Hydromancy.*—But beside masonic delusions, Cagliostro made use of the then little understood wonders of magnetism to attract adherents; and as many persons are seduced by the wine-cup, so he made dupes of many by means of the water-bottle, which device, as might be shown, was very ancient, and consisted in divination by hydromancy. A child, generally a little girl, and called the Dove, was made to look into a bottle of water, and see therein events, past, present, and to come; and as Cagliostro was really a man of observation, he made many shrewd guesses as to the future, and sometimes fortune favoured him—as in the case of Schröpfer (280, 437), one of the leaders of the Illuminati, who refused to join the Egyptian rite; the little girl declared that in less than a month Schröpfer would be punished. Now it so happened that within that period Schröpfer committed suicide, which of course gave an immense lift to Cagliostro and his bottle. In this respect indeed Cagliostro was a forerunner of our modern spiritualists; and as he did not keep his occult power a secret from all, but freely communicated it, magical practices were thus introduced into the lodges, which brought discredit on the institution. And all this occurred at the period of the Encyclopedists, and on the eve of mighty events!

465. *Lodges founded by Cagliostro.*—He founded the first lodge, gorgeously fitted up, at Paris in a private house, and another one in his own house. A third was founded at Lyons, for which a special grand building was erected. It was declared the Mother Lodge, and called "Triumphant Wisdom." Its patent ran thus:

"Honour, Wisdom,
Union,
Beneficence, Comfort.

"We Grand Copt, in all eastern and western parts of Europe, Founder and Grand Master of Egyptian Masonry, make known to All, who may read this, that during our stay at Lyons many members of the Lodge of the Orient and Ordinary Rite, which has adopted the distinguishing title of

'Wisdom,' have expressed their ardent wish to place themselves under our rule, to be enlightened in true Masonry. We are pleased to accede to their wish," &c.

Lodges also were founded at Strasburg, a ladies' lodge at The Hague, another at Roveredo, another at Mitau, and a very grand one near Basle, in a sumptuous temple, erected for the purpose. The good citizens of Basle always approached it with feelings of awe, because they imagined Cagliostro destined it to be his tomb.

XXII

ADOPTIVE MASONRY

466. *Historical Notice.*—According to one of the fundamental laws of Masonry—and a rule prevailing in the greater mysteries of antiquity—women cannot be received into the Order. Women cannot keep secrets, at least so Milton says, through the mouth of Dalila—

> "Granting, as I do, it was a weakness
> In me, but incident to all our sex,
> Curiosity, inquisitive, importune
> Of secrets; then with like infirmity
> To publish them; both common female faults."

But we have already seen that Cagliostro admitted women to the Egyptian rite; and when at the beginning of the eighteenth century several associations sprang up in France, which in their external aspect resembled Freemasonry, but did not exclude women, the ladies naturally were loud in their praise of such institutions, so that the masonic brotherhood, seeing it was becoming unpopular, had recourse to the stratagem of establishing "adoptive" lodges of women, so called because every such lodge had finally to be adopted by some regular masonic lodge. The Grand Orient of France framed laws for their government, and the first lodge of adoption was opened in Paris in 1775, in which the Duchess of Bourbon presided, and was initiated as Grand Mistress of the rite. The Revolution checked the progress of this rite, but it was revived in 1805, when the Empress Josephine presided over the "Loge Impériale d'Adoption des Francs-Chevaliers" at Strasburg. Similar lodges spread over Europe, Great Britain excepted; but they soon declined, and are at present confined to the place of their origin.

467. *Organisation.*—The rite consists of the same degrees as those of genuine Masonry. Every sister, being a dignitary, has beside her a masonic brother holding the corresponding rank. Hence the officers are a Grand Master and

a Grand Mistress, an Inspector and an Inspectress, a Depositor and a Depositrix, a Conductor and a Conductress. The business of the lodge is conducted by the sisterhood, the brethren only acting as their assistants; but the Grand Mistress has very little to say or to do, she being only an honorary companion to the Grand Master. The first, or apprentice's, degree is only introductory; in the second, or companion, the scene of the temptation in Eden is emblematically represented; the building of the tower of Babel is the subject of the mistress's degree; and in the fourth, or that of perfect mistress, the officers represent Moses, Aaron, and their wives, and the ceremonies refer to the passage of the Israelites through the wilderness, as a symbol of the passage of men and women through this to another and better life. The lodge-room is tastefully decorated, and divided by curtains into four compartments, each representing one of the four quarters of the globe, the eastern, or farthermost, representing Asia, where there are two splendid thrones, decorated with gold fringe, for the Grand Master and the Grand Mistress. The members sit on each side in straight lines, the sisters in front and the brothers behind them, the latter having swords in their hands. All this pretty playing at Masonry is naturally followed by a banquet, and on many occasions by a ball. At the banquets the members use a symbolical language; thus the lodge-room is called "Eden," the doors "barriers," a glass is called a "lamp," water "white oil," wine "red oil"; to fill your glass is "to trim your lamp," &c.

468. *Jesuit Degrees.*—The Jesuits, *qui vont fourrer leur nez partout*, soon poked it into Adoptive Masonry—for to get hold of the women is to get hold of the better half of mankind—and founded new lodges, or modified existing ones of that rite to further their own purposes. Thus it is that a truly monkish asceticism was introduced into some of them, by the Jesuits divided into ten degrees; and we find such passages in the catechism as these: "Are you prepared, sister, to sacrifice life for the good of the catholic, apostolic Roman Church?" The tenth or last degree was called the "Princess of the Crown," and a great portion of the ritual treats of the Queen of Sheba. This rite was established in Saxony in 1779.[1]

[1] For another adoptive order, the "Heroine of Jericho," see Miscellaneous Societies, Book XIV., § 701.

XXIII

ANDROGYNOUS MASONRY

469. *Origin and Tendency.*—Gallantry already makes its appearance in Adoptive Masonry; and this gallantry, which for so many ages was the study of France, and was there reduced to an ingenious art, manufactured on its own account rites and degrees that were masonic in name only. Politics were dethroned by amorous intrigues; and the enumerators of great effects sprung from trifling causes might in this chapter of history find proofs of what a superficial and accidental thing politics are, when not governed by motives of high morality, nor watched by the incorruptible national conscience. And Androgynous Masonry did not always confine itself to an interchange of compliments and the pursuit of pleasure; still, as a rule, its lodges for the initiation of males and females—defended by some of their advocates as founded on Exod. xxxviii. 8—are a whimsical form of that court life which in France and Italy had its poets and romancers; and which rose to such a degree of impudence and scandal as to outrage the modesty of citizens and popular virtue. It is a page of that history of princely corruption, which the French people at first read of with laughter, then with astonishment, finally with indignation; and which inspired it with those feelings which at last found their vent in the excesses of the great Revolution. Every Revolution is a puritanical movement, and the simple and neglected virtue of the lowly-born avenges itself upon the pompous vices of their superiors.

470. *Earliest Androgynous Societies.*—Some of these were founded in France and elsewhere by an idle, daring, and conquering soldiery. As their type we may take the Order of the "Knights and Ladies of Joy," founded with extraordinary success at Paris in 1696, under the protection of Bacchus and Venus, and whose printed statutes are still in existence; and that of the "Ladies of St. John of Jerusalem," and the "Ladies of St. James of the Sword and

Calatrava." They, as it were, served as models to the canonesses, who, till the end of the last century, brought courtly pomp and mundane pleasures into the very cloisters of France, and compelled austere moralists to excuse it by saying that it was *dans le goût de la nation.*

471. *Other Androgynous Societies.*—In the Order of the "Companions of Penelope, or the Palladium of Ladies," whose statutes are said to have been drawn up by Fénélon (with how much truth is easily imagined), the trials consist in showing the candidate that work is the palladium of women; whence we may assume the pursuits of this society to have been very different from the equivocal occupations of other Orders. The Order of the "Mopses" owed its origin to a religious scruple. Pope Clement XII. having issued, in 1738, a Bull condemning Freemasonry, Clement Augustus, Duke of Bavaria and Elector of Cologne, instituted, under the above name (derived from the German word *Mops*, a young mastiff, the symbol of fidelity), what was pretended to be a new society, but what was, in fact, only Freemasonry under another name. Immediately after their establishment the Mopses became an androgynous order, admitting females to all the offices except that of Grand Master, which was for life; but there was a Grand Mistress, elected every six months. Their ceremonies were grotesque. The candidate for admission did not knock, but scratch at the door, and, being purposely kept waiting, barked like a dog. On being admitted into the lodge he had a collar round his neck, to which a chain was attached. He was blindfolded, and led nine times round the room, while the Mopses present made as great a din as possible with sticks, swords, chains, shovels, and dismal howlings. He was then questioned as to his intentions, and having replied that he desired to become a Mops, was asked by the master whether he was prepared to kiss the most ignoble part of that animal. Of course this raised the candidate's anger; but in spite of his resistance, the model of a dog, made of wax, wood, or some other material, was pushed against his face. Having taken the oath, he had his eyes unbandaged, and was taught the signs, which were all of a ludicrous description. In 1777 there was established in Denmark the androgynous order of the "Society of the Chain," to which belongs the honour of having founded, and of maintaining at its own expense, the Asylum for the Blind at Copenhagen, the largest and best managed of similar institutions in Europe. The Order of "Perseverance," the date of whose foundation is un-

known, but which existed in Paris in 1777, and was supported by the most distinguished persons, had a laudable custom, which might be imitated by other societies, viz., to inscribe in a book, one of which is still extant, the praiseworthy actions of the male and female members of the association. But one of the most deserving masonic androgynous institutions was that of the "Sovereign Chapter of the Scotch Ladies of France," founded in 1810, and divided into lesser and greater mysteries, and whose instructions aimed chiefly at leading the neophyte back to the occupations to which the state of society called him or her. To provide food and work for those wanting either, to afford them advice and help, and save them from the cruel alternative of crime—such was the scope of this society, which lasted till the year 1828. The fashion of androgynous lodges was revived in Spain in 1877. From the *Chaîne d'Union*, a masonic publication, we learn that several such lodges were formed about that date, receiving ladies of the highest rank. Thus the Countess Julia A——, belonging by birth to the Austrian-Hungarian nobility, and by her connections to Spain, was initiated into the lodge Fraternitad Iberica on the 14th June 1880; and the Grand Orient of Spain initiated ladies into all the mysteries of masonry, *just as if they were men.*

472. *Various other Androgynous Societies.*—The Society of the "Wood-store of the Globe and Glory" was founded in 1747 by the Chevalier de Beauchêne, a lively boon companion, who was generally to be found at an inn, where for very little money he conferred all the masonic degrees of that time; a man whose worship would have shone by the great tun of Heidelberg, or at the drinking bouts of German students. The Wood-store was supposed to be in a forest, and the meetings, which were much in vogue, took place in a garden outside Paris, called "New France," where assembled lords and clowns, ladies and grisettes, indulging in the easy costumes and manners of the country. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, there was established in Brittany the Order of the "Defoliators."

In the Order of "Felicity," instituted in Paris in 1742, and divided into the four degrees of midshipman, captain, chief of a squadron, and vice-admiral, the emblems and terms were nautical: sailors were its founders, and it excited so much attention, that in 1746 a satire, entitled, "The Means of reaching the highest Rank in the Navy without getting Wet," was published against it. Its field of action was the field of love. A Grand Orient was called the offing, the

lodge the squadron, and the sisters performed the fictitious voyage to the island of Felicity *sous la voile des frères et pilotées par eux;* and the candidate promised "never to receive a foreign ship into her port as long as a ship of the Order was anchored there."

The Order of the "Lovers of Pleasure" was a military institution, a pale revival of the ceremonies of chivalry and the courts of love, improvised in the French camp in Galicia. From the discourse of one of the orators we select the following passage: "Our scope is to embellish our existence, always taking for our guide the words, 'Honour, Joy, and Delicacy.' Our scope, moreover, is to be faithful to our country and the august sovereign who fills the universe with his glorious name, to serve a cause which ought to be grateful to every gentle soul, that of protecting youth and innocence, and of establishing between the ladies and ourselves an eternal alliance, cemented by the purest friendship." This society, it is said, was much favoured by Napoleon I., and hence we may infer that its aim was not purely pleasure; at all events, it is remarkable that a society, having masonic rites, should have given its services to the "august sovereign" who had just withdrawn his support from genuine Freemasonry.

473. *Knights and Nymphs of the Rose.*—This Order was founded in Paris in 1778 by Chaumont, private secretary to Louis-Philippe d'Orléans, to please that prince. The chief lodge was held in one of the famous *petites maisons* of that epoch. The great lords had lodges in their own houses. The Hierophant, assisted by a deacon called "Sentiment," initiated the men, and the Grand Priestess, assisted by the deaconess called "Discretion," initiated the women. The age of admission for knights was "the age to love," that of ladies "the age to please and to be loved." Love and mystery were the programme of the Order; the lodge was called the Temple of Love, which was beautifully adorned with garlands of flowers and amorous emblems and devices. The knights wore a crown of myrtle, the nymphs a crown of roses. During the time of initiation a dark lantern, held by the nymph of Discretion, shed a dim light, but afterwards the lodge was illuminated with numerous wax candles. The aspirants, laden with chains, to symbolise the prejudices that kept them prisoners, were asked, "What seek you here?" to which they replied, "Happiness." They were then questioned as to their private opinion and conduct in matters of gallantry, and made twice to traverse the lodge over a path

covered with love-knots, whereupon the iron chains were taken off, and garlands of flowers, called "chains of love," substituted. The candidates were then conducted to the altar, where they took the oath of secrecy; and thence to the mysterious groves in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Love, where incense was offered up to Venus and her son. If it was a knight who had been initiated, he exchanged his crown of myrtle for the rose of the last initiated nymph; and if a nymph, she exchanged her rose for the myrtle crown of Brother Sentiment. The horrors of the Revolution scattered these knights and nymphs, who, like thoughtless children, were playing on a volcano.

474. *German Order of the Rose.*—Another order of the Rose was founded in Germany in 1784 by one Francis Matthäus Grossinger, who ennobled himself by assuming the title of Francis Rudolph *von* Grossing. He was born in 1752 at Komorn, in Hungary; his father was a butcher, his mother the daughter of a tanner. Grossing was a Jesuit, but on the suppression of the Order he led a wandering life, and eventually reached Vienna, where he obtained the protection of the father confessor of the empress, who in 1777 granted him a pension of six hundred florins, which, however, he lost by her death. He then lived by all kinds of swindling, and finally founded a philanthropic order, which, after the name of the supposititious grand mistress, the Lady of Rosenwald, he called the "Order of the Rose." He was very successful at Halle, where he lived, in initiating dupes, on whose contributions he lived in great style. When he became too notorious at Halle he transmigrated to Berlin, where he continued his expensive style of living, got into debt, was arrested, but made his escape, after having swindled the Berliners out of twenty thousand dollars.

475. *Pretended Objects of the Order.*—The Order professed to pursue the loftiest philosophic and educational objects. None but men and women endowed with noble souls were to be admitted, and no member was to reveal the name of any other member, nor what was discussed in the lodges, to outsiders. Masonry was the model for the Order of the Rose, the latter adopting all the good, and rejecting all the bad of the former. The ribbon of the Order consisted of pink silk, both ends terminating in three points; it was marked with a rose, and the name of the member, with the date of his or her reception. Under this was a large seal, displaying a rose, surrounded by a wreath of the same flowers; the ribbon was further adorned with a kind of

silhouette, supposed to represent the Lady of Rosenwald, so indistinct and blurred, as to look more like a blot than a portrait. Members also were furnished with a small ticket, giving the explanation of certain terms used by Grossing in his "Rules and Regulations"; thus Freemasons were called "Gamblers"; Jesuits, "Foxes"; Illuminati, "Wasps"; Ghost-seers, "Gnats," &c. The "Rules" were called "A Shell or Case for Thorns"; members, to recognise each other, would say, "Thorns," to which the other would reply, "Forest," after which each would produce his ribbon and ticket. In 1786 the Order counted about one hundred and twenty members, but having no innate vitality, being, in fact, but a company of triflers, many of them withdrew on finding the whole Order but a scheme of Grossing to put money into his pocket, and so it was swept away into the limbus of fashionable follies.

476. *Order of Harmony.*—The Order of the Rose having collapsed, Grossing in 1788 founded, under a fictitious name, the "Order of Harmony." He published a book alleged to be translated from the English, and entitled, "Harmony, or a Scheme for the Better Education of the Female Sex," and wrote in the Preface, "This 'Harmony' is not to be confounded with that *Château en Espagne*, with which the founder of the Order of the Rose for some years deluded the ladies of Germany." The Order of Harmony was said to have been founded by Seth, the third son of Adam, to have reckoned among its members Moses and Christ, and to be the refuge of persecuted humanity and innocence. The founder abused princes and priests, proposed the establishment of convents, in which ladies were to take the vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, but only for a year at a time; a bank was also to be founded in connection with them. And the writer finally proposed that a monument should be erected to the promoter of the Order as a benefactor of mankind! When Grossing was arrested in 1788 at Rotenburg (Prussia), for all kinds of swindling transactions, a number of diplomas were found among his papers, with the names of ladies who were to be admitted to the Order filled in. But the interference of the vulgar police brushed the bloom of romance off the scheme, and the Order of Harmony perished, a still-born babe! Grossing, however, managed to effect his escape, by making his guards drunk; what became of him afterwards is not on record.

477. *Mason's Daughter.*—This is an androgynous degree invented in the Western States of America, and given to

master masons, their wives, and unmarried sisters and daughters. It refers to circumstances recorded in chapters xi. and xii. of St. John's Gospel. In these women's lodges the banqueting hall is divided into East, West, South, and North sides (the four walls); the grand mistress sits in the East; the temple or lodge is called Eden; the doors are called barriers, the glasses, lamps, the wine is called red oil; to put oil in the lamps is to fill the glasses, to extinguish the lamp is to drink the wine, to "fire!" is to drink. The sign is to place the hands on the breast, so that the right lies on the left, and the two thumbs joining form a triangle. The word is "Eve," repeated five times. Gentlemen are allowed to be present. As the reader will have observed, the degree is an imitation of the Loge Impériale d'Adoption des Francs-Chevaliers, described in § 466.

XXIV

SCHISMATIC RITES AND SECTS

478. *Schismatic Rites and Sects.*—The pretended derivation of Freemasonry from the Knights Templars has already been referred to; but Masonry, the system, not the name, existed before the Order of the Temple, and the Templars themselves had masonic rites and degrees three hundred years before their downfall. Those who, however, maintain the above view say that the three assassins symbolise the three betrayers of the Order, and Hiram the Grand Master Molay; and according to the ritual of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, a German degree, the lights around the coffin signify the flames of the pile on which Molay was burnt. To the Rosicrucians and to certain German lodges Hiram is Christ, and the three assassins, Judas that betrays, Peter that denies Him, and Thomas that disbelieves His resurrection. The ancient Scotch rite had its origin in other false accounts of the rise of the Order. In the last century schisms without number arose in the masonic body. It would be impossible in a work like this to give particulars of all; we have already done so of several; a few more may be briefly referred to. The Moravian Brothers of the Order of Religious Freemasons, or Order of the "Mustard Seed," was a German rite founded, *circa* 1712, by Count Zinzendorf, the same who afterwards invented the rite already described in § 438. Some authorities assert this Order of the "Mustard-Seed" to have originated in England in 1708, and thence to have spread to Holland and Germany, and to have been adopted by Zinzendorf, *circa* 1712–14, when he was a student at Halle. The mysteries were founded on the passage in St. Mark iv. 30–32, in which Christ compares the kingdom of heaven to a grain of mustard-seed. The brethren recognised each other by a ring inscribed with the words: "No one of us lives for himself." The jewel was a cross of gold, surmounted by a mustard-plant with the words:

"What was it before? Nothing." The members met every year in the chapel of the Castle of Gnadenstadt, and also kept the 15th March and 16th April as holy days. Nearly all the degrees of the Scotch rite are schismatic. In like manner, all the English and American orders of chivalry, and their conclaves and encampments, are parodies of ancient chivalry.

In 1758, Lacorne, a dancing-master, and Pirlet, a tailor, invented the degree of the "Council of the Emperors of the East and West," whose members assumed the titles of "Sovereign Prince Masons, Substitutes General of the Royal Art, Grand Superintendents and Officers of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem." The ritual consisted of twenty-five degrees, and as it was calculated by its sounding titles and splendour of ritual to flatter the vanity of the frivolous, it was at first very successful; and Lacorne conferred on one of his creatures, a Hebrew, the degree of Inspector, and sent him to America to spread the Order there. In 1797, other Jews added eight new degrees, giving to this agglomeration of thirty-three pompous degrees the title of "Ancient and Accepted Scotch Rite." The Grand Orient of France, seeing its own influence declining, proposed advantageous and honourable terms to the Supreme Grand Council which was at the head of the Scotch rite, and an agreement was come to in 1804. The Grand Orient retaining the first name, received into its bosom the Supreme Grand Council and the rich American symbolism. But the connection did not prosper, and was dissolved in 1805. Again, what is called Mark-Masonry in England is, by some masonic authorities, considered spurious; whilst in Scotland and Ireland it is held to be an essential portion of Freemasonry. These are curious anomalies. About 1869 His Imperial Highness the Prince Rhodocanakis introduced into England the "Order of the Red Cross of Constantine and Rome," which, however, being violently opposed by the Supreme Grand Council of the 33rd, came to an untimely end soon after. The S.G.C. threatened any member of the "Ancient and Accepted" who should dare even to merely visit this new Order with expulsion from the fraternity. And the S.G.C. actually sent a "Sovereign Tribunal" to Manchester to try a brother, who had snapped his fingers at the Council and said he did not care for the "Sovereign." How it all ended is pleasantly related in the pages of *The Rectangular*, January and April 1871.

479. *Farmassoni.*—There is a Gnostic sect in Russia whom

the Russians identify with the Freemasons, and therefore call "Farmassoni," a corruption of *franc-maçons*. The Farmassoni regard priesthood and ritual as a pagan depravation of the faith and of the true doctrine; they seek, as much as possible, to spiritualise Christianity, and to ground it solely on the Bible and the inward illumination of believers. The earliest traces of them are to be found at the end of the seventeenth century, and their appearance coincides with that of certain German mystics and theosophists in Moscow. The most important of these was a Prussian sub-officer, who was carried to Moscow, having been taken prisoner by the Russians during the Seven Years' War.

480. *The Gormogones.*—This Order was founded in England in 1724. The names and birthplaces of the members were written in cipher, and the Order was said to have been brought by a Chinese mandarin (a Jesuit missionary?) to England, it being in great repute in China (Rome), and to possess extraordinary secrets. It held a chapter at the Castle Tavern, London, but was dissolved in 1738. It is supposed to have been an attempt of the Jesuits, by the help of masonic ceremonies, to gain converts to Catholicism, and that Ramsay, the inventor of the so-called higher degrees, had something to do with it. I have vainly endeavoured to trace the origin and meaning of the term Gormogones. According to one account I have seen it was also called the Order of the Gormones, and was said to have been instituted for the reception of individuals not considered sufficiently advanced for admission to the lodges.

481. *The Noachites*, or *Noachidæ.*—This Order, founded in the last quarter of the last century, assumed the high-sounding title of "The Fraternity of the Royal Ark Mariners, Mark, Mark Master, Elected of Nine, Unknown, Fifteen, Architect, Excellent and Superexcellent Masons." They professed to be the followers of Noah—which no doubt they were in one respect—and therefore also called themselves Noachites or Noachidæ. Their president, Thomas-Boothby Parkyns, Lord Rancliffe, bore the title of Grand Noah, and the lodge was called the Royal Ark Vessel. The brother mariners in the lodge wore a broad sash, representing a rainbow, with an apron fancifully decorated with an ark, dove, &c. Their principal place of meeting was at the Surrey Tavern, Surrey Street, Strand. They had a poet, Brother Ebenezer Sibley, who was a doctor of medicine and an astrologer to boot, who, like too many masonic poets, wrote indifferent couplets. This Order must not be confounded

with the "Noachite or Russian Knight," which is the 21st degree of the Ancient Scotch rite.

482. *Argonauts.*—This Order was founded, for his amusement, by a Freemason, Konrad von Rhetz, residing at Riddagshausen, near Brunswick. He had been the master of a lodge of the Relaxed Observance, but fell out with his brethren, and ceased from visiting any lodge. Near his residence there is a large lake with an island in the centre. On this he built a temple and provided boats to carry visitors to it, where, if they desired it, they were initiated into the new Order. Persons of position and of either sex might claim reception as a matter of right, and many Brunswick Freemasons belonged to it. The Grand Master, or Grand Admiral as he was called, entertained all visitors free of expense, nor was there any charge for initiation. The greeting was "Long live pleasure!" The temple was built in the antique style, though with quaint decorations and a few paintings and engravings. There were also cupboards containing the insignia of the Order. The officers were styled Steersman, Chaplain, and so on; the others were simple Argonauts. The jewel was a silver anchor with green enamel. On the founder's death in 1787 the Order was dissolved; no trace remains of the temple.

483. *The Grand Orient and Atheism.*—In 1877 the Grand Orient abolished in the lodges the acknowledgment of a belief in God, introduced into the ritual in 1854, which has led to a rupture between it and the Grand Lodge of England. The influence of Masonry, both social and political, in France being universal, it is the foundation and support of the war made on the priesthood with a view chiefly to deprive them of the education of youth. The Spanish and Dutch Grand Lodges approved of the action of the Grand Orient in suppressing the name of God in the ritual of admission. There is no doubt that Continental Masonry aims at the abolition not only of the Roman Catholic Church, but of the human mind's blind surrender to any creed whatever.

484. *Ludicrous Degree.*—The following lodge was actually established about 1717. Some joyous companions, having passed the degree of craft, resolved to form a lodge for themselves. As none of them knew the master's part, they at once invented and adopted a ritual which suited every man's humour. Hence it was ordered that every person during initiation should wear boots, spurs, a sword, and spectacles. The apron was turned upside down. To simplify

the work of the lodge, they abolished the practice of studying geometry, excepting that form mentioned by Hudibras—

> "For he, by geometric scale,
> Could take the size of pots of ale;
> Resolve by sines and tangents straight,
> If bread or butter wanted weight."

Some of the members proved that a good knife and fork in the hands of a dexterous brother, over proper materials, would give greater satisfaction and add more to the rotundity of the lodge than the best scale and compass in Europe; adding that a line, a square, a parallelogram, a rhombus, a rhomboid, a triangle, a trapezium, a circle, a semi-circle, a quadrant, a parabola, a hyperbola, a cube, a parallelepipedon, a prism, a prismoid, a pyramid, a cylinder, a curve, a cylindroid, a sphere, a spheroid, a paraboloid, a cycloid, a paracentric, frustums, segments, sectors, gnomons, pentagons, hexagons, polygons, ellipses, and irregular figures of all sorts, might be drawn and represented upon bread, beef, mutton, ham, fowls, pies, &c., as demonstratively as upon sheets of paper or the tracing-board, and that the use of the globes might be taught and explained as clearly and briefly upon two bottles as upon any twenty-eight inch spheres.

XXV

DIFFUSION OF THE ORDER

485. *Freemasonry in Spain and Portugal.*—In 1726, the Grand Lodge of England granted a patent for the establishment of a lodge at Gibraltar; another was founded in the following year at Madrid, which, declaring itself independent of foreign supervision, established lodges at Cadiz, Barcelona, Valladolid, and other places. The Inquisition, seeing the danger that threatened the Church, persecuted the Order; hence some mystery surrounds the labours of the brotherhood in the Iberian peninsula. But in the troubles which distressed Spain during the Napoleonic wars, the masonic lodges were politically very active. They were suppressed again by Ferdinand VII., and up to the year 1868 were but few in number, and disguised under various names. Since that year they have rapidly increased, and there are now more than 360 lodges in Spain. The Spanish Grand Lodge has 154 lodges under its jurisdiction; the Grand Orient of Spain about 162; the Lusitanian Grand Orient about 40 lodges. There are, moreover, about 40 lodges subject to foreign Grand Lodges. The number of Spanish Masons may amount to 30,000.

In Portugal, the first lodges were founded, not under English, but under French auspices; but English influence soon made itself felt in the establishment of additional lodges, though in great secrecy; which, however, did not save many Freemasons from becoming the victims of the Inquisition.

486. *Freemasonry in Russia.*—In 1731, Freemasonry dared to oppose itself to Russian despotism, which not fearing, and probably despising it, did not molest it. The times were unpropitious. The sanguinary Biren ruled the Empress Anne, whom by means of the amorous fascination he exercised upon her, he easily persuaded to commit all kinds of folly and cruelty; and Masonry, though it knew itself to be tolerated, yet did not feel secure, and cautiously kept itself in the background. In 1740, England founded a lodge at St.

Petersburg, and sent thither a Grand Master. The Order spread in the provinces, and in 1763 the lodge "Clio" was opened at Moscow. Catherine II. wished to know its statutes, perceiving the advantage or injury they might bring to her government as she either promoted or persecuted the association. In the end she determined to protect the Order; and in a country where the court leads opinion, lodges soon became the fashion. But Masonry thus becoming the amusement of a wealthy nobility, it soon lost sight of its primitive objects. In no other country probably did the brotherhood possess such gorgeous temples; but, deprived of the vivifying and invigorating air of liberty, its splendour could not save it from a death of inanition.

487. *Freemasonry in Switzerland.* — English proselytism, always the most active, established a lodge at Geneva in 1737, whose first Grand Master was George Hamilton. Two years afterwards, the foreigners dwelling at Lausanne united and founded the lodge called the "Perfect Union of Foreigners." Lodges were also opened at Berne; but the manœuvres of the Grand Lodges of the States surrounding Switzerland introduced long and fierce dissensions. In 1765, the Strict Observance founded at Basle the lodge "Liberty," which became the mother-lodge of many others, and, calling itself the "German Helvetic Directory," chose for its chief the celebrated Lavater. Then followed suppressions; but the Order revived, and in 1844 the different territorial Grand Lodges united into one federal Grand Lodge, called "Alpina," which revised the ancient statutes. The Swiss Freemasons intend to erect a grand temple, which perhaps could nowhere find a more fitting site than in a country where four nations of diverse languages and races dwell in perfect liberty.

488. *Freemasonry in Sweden and Poland.* — In 1748, Sweden already had many and flourishing lodges. In 1754 was instituted the Grand Lodge of Sweden, under a patent from the Grand Lodge of Scotland; it afterwards declared its autonomy, which has been recognised by all the masonic bodies of Europe. In the most ancient Swedish ritual we meet for the first time in Europe with the cry and sign of distress of the sons of Adoniram (383): "To me, the sons of the widow!"

Freemasonry, at first suppressed in Poland, was revived under Stanislaus Augustus, and the auspices of the Grand Orient of France, who established lodges in various towns of that country. These united in 1784 to form a Grand Orient, having its seat at Warsaw.

489. *Freemasonry in Holland and Germany.*—In Holland the Freemasons opened a lodge in 1731, under the warrant of the Grand Lodge of England; it was, however, only what is called a lodge of emergency, having been called to initiate the Duke of Tuscany, afterwards Francis I., Emperor of Germany (454). The first regular lodge was established at The Hague in 1734, which, five years after, took the name of "Mother-lodge." Numerous lodges were opened throughout the country, and also in the Dutch colonies; and the Freemasons founded many schools, with the avowed object of withdrawing instruction from clerical influence.

In Germany lodges were numerous as early as the middle of last century, so that in the present one we have witnessed the centenaries of many of them—as, for instance, in 1837, of that of Hamburg; in 1840, of that of Berlin; in 1841, of those of Breslau, Baireuth, Leipzig, and many more.

490. *Freemasonry in Turkey, Asia, Africa, and Oceania.*—The Order also spread into Turkey, where, however, as may be supposed, for a long time it led but a harassed existence. Lodges were established at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo; and it may be mentioned, as a fact in favour of Freemasonry, that the Turkish Freemasons are in a more advanced state of civilisation than is usual among Orientals generally. They reject polygamy, and at the masonic banquets the women appear unveiled; so that whatever their western sisters may have to say against Masonry, the women of the East certainly are gainers by the introduction of the Order.

The most important masonic lodges of Asia are in India; they are under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland.

Freemasonry was introduced into Africa by the establishment of a lodge at Cape Coast Castle in 1735. There are now lodges at the Cape of Good Hope; in the islands of Mauritius, Madagascar, and St. Helena; and at Algiers, Tunis, Morocco, Cairo, and Alexandria.

Lodges have existed since 1828 at Sydney, Melbourne, Parramatta, and other places; in all, about two hundred.

491. *Freemasonry in America.*—The first lodge established in Canada was at Cape Breton, in the year 1745. Lodges existed from as early a period in the West Indian Islands. On the establishment of the Brazilian empire, a Grand Lodge was initiated; and in 1825, Don Pedro I. was elected its Grand Master. In 1825, the Grand Lodge of Mexico was instituted, where the Liberals and Federalists joined the

York rite, whilst the Clerics, Monarchists, and Centralizers adopted the Scotch rite, the two parties carrying on a relentless war. Texas, Venezuela, and the turbulent republics of South America, all had their masonic lodges, which were in many cases political clubs in disguise. Thus the assassination of Garcia Moreno, the President of the Republic of Ecuador, in 1875, was the work of the masonic clubs. The murderer, one Rajo, on being promised his life if he would denounce his accomplices, coolly replied: "It would be useless to save my life; if you spared it, my companions would soon take it; I would rather be shot than stabbed."

The lodges in the territory now forming the United States date as far back as 1729. Until the close of the revolutionary war these were under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England; but almost every State of the Union now has its own Grand Lodge, independent of all foreign power.

In different parts of the globe there are about 90 Grand Lodges, nearly 12,000 lodges, numbering altogether about 12,500,000 members; of the active members, or such as regularly attend lodges and pay annual subscriptions, there may be half that number.

XXVI

PERSECUTIONS OF FREEMASONRY

492. *Causes of Persecution.*—The secrecy with which the masonic brotherhood has always surrounded its proceedings is no doubt highly grateful to the members, but it has its drawbacks. The outside world, who cannot believe that masonic meetings, which are so jealously guarded against the intrusion of non-Masons, have no other purpose than the rehearsal of a now totally useless and pointless ritual, followed by conviviality, naturally assume that there must be something more behind; and what seems to fear the light is usually supposed to be evil. Hence all governments, as long as they did not know what modern Freemasonry really is, persecuted and endeavoured to suppress it. But as soon as they discovered its real scope and character, they gave it their support, feeling quite convinced that men who could find entertainment in the doings of the lodges, would never, as it is popularly called, set the Thames on fire. One of the first persecutions against Freemasonry arose in Holland in 1734. A crowd of ignorant fanatics, incited thereto by the clergy, broke into a lodge at Amsterdam, and destroyed all its furniture and ornaments; but the town clerk having, at the suggestion of the Order, been initiated, the States-General, upon his report, sanctioned the society, many of the chief persons becoming members. Of course, when lodges were turned into political clubs, and the real business of Masonry was cast aside for something more serious, the matter assumed a very different aspect. The persecutions here to be mentioned will therefore be such only as took place against Freemasonry, legitimately so called.

493. *Instances of Persecution.*—Pope Clement XII., in 1738, issued a decree against the Order, which was followed by a more severe edict next year, the punishment therein awarded for being found guilty of practising Freemasonry being confiscation and death, without hope of mercy. This was a signal of persecution in the countries connected with Rome.

The parliament of Paris, however, refused to register the papal bull; and an apology for the Order was published at Dublin. But Philip V. of Spain declared the galleys for life, or punishment of death with torture to be the doom of Freemasons; a very large number of whom he caused to be arrested and sentenced. Peter Torrubia, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, having first made confession and received absolution, entered the Order for the express purpose of betraying it. He joined in 1751, and made himself acquainted with the entire ramifications of the craft; and in consequence members of ninety-seven lodges were seized and tortured on the rack. Ferdinand VI. declared Freemasonry to be high-treason, and punishable with death. When the French became masters of Spain, Freemasonry was revived and openly practised, the members of the Grand Lodge of Madrid meeting in the hall previously occupied by their arch-enemy the Inquisition. With the return of Ferdinand VII., who re-established the Inquisition, the exterminating process recommenced. In 1814, twenty-five persons suspected of Freemasonry were dragged in chains to confinement; but the subsequent arrests were so numerous, that no correct account is obtainable, nor can the ultimate fate of the accused be recorded. One of the noblest victims of the Spanish Inquisition and the Holy Alliance was Riego, the "Hampden of Spain," who was atrociously murdered by hanging at Madrid in 1823. "Have I got you, you Freemason, you son of the devil! you shall pay for all you have done!" howled the hangman, before strangling him. In 1824, a law was promulgated, commanding all Masons to declare themselves, and deliver up all their papers and documents, under the penalty of being declared traitors. The Minister of War, in the same year, issued a proclamation, outlawing every member of the craft; and in 1827, seven members of a lodge in Granada were executed; while in 1828, the tribunals of the same city condemned the Marquis of Lavrillana and Captain Alvarez to be beheaded for having founded a lodge. In 1848, Masons were no longer executed, but sent to the galleys; as late as the year 1854, members of masonic lodges were seized and imprisoned.

In 1735, several noble Portuguese instituted a lodge at Lisbon, under the Grand Lodge of England, of which George Gordon was Master; but the priests immediately determined on putting it down. One of the best-known victims of the Inquisition was John Coustos, a native of Switzerland, who was arrested in 1743, and thrown into a subterranean dungeon, where he was racked nine times in three months

for not revealing the secrets of Masonry. He had, however, to appear in an *auto-da-fé*, and was sentenced to five years' work as a galley slave; but the British Government claiming him as a subject, he was released before the term of his punishment expired. Thirty-three years passed without anything more being heard of Freemasonry in Portugal; but in 1776, two members of the craft were arrested, and remained upwards of fourteen months in prison. In 1792, Queen Maria I. ordered all Freemasons to be delivered over to the Inquisition; a very few families escaped to New York, where they landed with the words, *Asylum quærimus*. Among their American brethren they found not only an asylum, but a new home. The French Empire ushered in better days; but with the restoration of the old régime came the former prejudices and persecutions. In 1818, John VI. promulgated from the Brazils an edict against all secret societies, including Freemasonry; and, again in 1823, a similar though more stringent proclamation appeared in Lisbon. The punishment of death therein awarded was afterwards reduced to fine and transportation to Africa.

In Austria, the papal bulls provoked persecutions and seizures; hence arose the Order of the Mopses (471), which spread through Holland, Belgium, and France. In 1747, thirty Masons were arrested and imprisoned at Vienna. Maria Theresa, having been unable to discover the secrets of the Order, issued a decree to arrest all Masons, but the measure was frustrated by the good sense of the Emperor Joseph II., who was himself a Mason, and therefore knew that the pursuits of the Order were innocent enough. Francis I., at the Diet of Ratisbon in 1794, demanded the suppression of all masonic societies throughout Germany, but Hanover, Brunswick, and Prussia united with the smaller States in refusing their assent.

The history of Freemasonry in Central Italy during the last century and this, as may be supposed, is a mere repetition of sufferings, persecutions, and misfortunes; the members of the craft being continually under punishment, through the intolerance of the priesthood and the interference of the civil power.

But persecution was not confined to Catholic countries. Even in Switzerland, the Masons at one time were persecuted. The Council of Berne, in 1745, passed a law with certain degrees of punishment for members of lodges; which law was renewed in 1782. It is now abrogated. Frederick I., King of Sweden, a very few years after the

introduction (1736) of Freemasonry, forbade it under penalty of death. At present the king is at the head of the Swedish craft. The King Frederick Augustus III. of Poland caused, in 1730, enactments to be published, forbidding, under pain of severe punishment, the practice of Freemasonry in his kingdom. In 1757, the Synod of Stirling adopted a resolution debarring all Freemasons from the ordinances of religion. In 1799, Lord Radnor proposed in the English Parliament a bill against secret societies, and especially against Freemasonry; and a similar but equally fruitless attempt against the Order was made in 1814 by Lord Liverpool. The Society is now acknowledged by law; the Prince of Wales is at the head of the craft.

494. *Anti-Masonic Publications.* — One of the earliest English publications against Freemasonry is "The Freemasons; an Hudibrastic Poem" (London, 1723). It is written in the coarsest style of invective, describing the Masons as a drunken set of revellers, practising all kinds of filthy rites. Several works of no literary merit appeared at various intervals between 1726 and 1760, professing to reveal the masonic secrets, but their authors evidently knew nothing of the craft. In 1768, a rabid parson published a sermon, entitled "Masonry, the Way to Hell." It is beneath criticism. Numerous works of a similar tendency, or professing to reveal what Masonry was, thenceforth appeared at short intervals in England, France, Germany, and Italy, such as "Les Plus Secrets Mystères de la Maçonnerie"; "Le Maschere Strappate" (The Masks torn off); "The Veil Removed, or the Secret of the Revolutions fostered by Freemasonry"; Robison's "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the Secret Meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies," a work which must have astonished the Masons not a little, and for which they were no doubt in their hearts very grateful to the author, for he makes the Masons out to be very terrible fellows indeed. The work of the Abbé Barruel is of the same stamp; it is entitled, "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme," and is noteworthy for nothing but absence of critical power and honesty of statement. The Jesuits, though imitating the ritual of the Masons, have naturally always been their enemies, generally secretly, but sometimes openly, as, for instance, through the Italian *zappatori* (labourers), whose avowed object was the destruction of the Masonic Order. Protestants also have written fiercely against the Order,

Lindner's "Mac-Benach" (1818), and Hengstenberg's and Möller's in quite recent years, are samples of such writings.

One of the most voluminous works against Freemasonry is that of Dr. E. E. Eckert, of Dresden. It is in three thick volumes, printed at various places (1852–80). The title is, "Proofs for the Condemnation of Freemasonry as the Starting Point of all Destructive Activity." He sees Masonry everywhere, even in Chinese secret societies! According to Eckert, Freemasons were the originators of the Illuminati and Burschenschaft in Germany, of the Jacobins and Juste Milieu in France, of the Carbonari in Italy, of the Liberals in Spain, and the Giovine Italia! He was expelled from Berlin in consequence of his attacks on highly-placed Masons. The latest work of importance hostile to Masonry is by the late Père Deschamps, in three large volumes, entitled, "Les Sociétés Secrètes et la Société" (Paris and Avignon, 1882–83). The writer, a priest, sees only evil in the fraternity, and, in fact, all evil in the world—political, social, moral—is due to the occult action of the Masons, whose object is the overthrow of all religion, morality, and justice. In 1873, a German work, entitled, "The Secret Warfare of Freemasonry against Church and State" (an English translation was published in 1875), had brought the same charges against the Society's action on the Continent. And Masonry continues to be the bugbear of the Church. In 1875, Pope Pius IX. fulminated a bull against the Order; in 1884, shortly after the installation of the Prince of Wales as Grand Master Mark-Mason, the Pope issued an encyclical, *Humanum genus*, in which he denounced the Order as criminal, impious, revolutionary, and everything bad; towards the end of September of this present year (1896) an anti-masonic congress, convoked by the Church, was held at Trent, and attended by about six hundred priests, presided over by Cardinal Agliardi, armed with the Pope's brief condemning Freemasonry. The whole proceeding was an exact counterpart of the meeting held on the 1st February 1762, when "many gentlemen, eminent for their rank and character," including "Pomposo" Johnson, "were, by the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Aldrich, assembled" to inquire into the noises made by the Cock-lane ghost. Sitting with closed doors, the Congress discussed Miss Diana Vaughan, who, in a book published by, or attributed to her, described how at an early age she was initiated into Freemasonry, and that in American lodges she had frequent interviews with Lucifer, and some of his imps. The truth or

untruth of this statement was seriously debated by the "learned divines" assembled at Trent! And they left the matter in doubt. The reverend fathers seem to have been particularly shocked at the liberties taken with the devil's personality; yet they must know that the devil has for ages been an object of ridicule, the theme of ribald songs and jokes even in the mystery plays.

Dr. Bataille wrote a book entitled, "The Devil in the Nineteenth Century," which is a specimen of the grossest superstition, which was ridiculed in a reply afterwards published by a Count H. C., and wherein he regrets that a large number of high personages, particularly among the clergy, should have been thus imposed upon. Dr. Bataille in his book referred largely to devil-worship in the East; Count H. C. contradicts most of the doctor's statements.

XXVII

FUTILITY OF MODERN FREEMASONRY

495. *Vain Pretensions of Modern Freemasonry.*—After this necessarily compressed account of Freemasonry, past and present, the question naturally suggests itself—What is its present use? Are its pretensions not groundless? Is it not an institution which has outlived the object of its foundation? Is not its present existence a delusion and an anachronism? Since all that is said and done in the lodges has for many years been in print, is the holding out of the communication of secrets not a delusion, and the imposition of childish oaths not a farce? The answers to all these questions must be unfavourable to Freemasonry. When Masonry was purely operative, it had its uses; when it became speculative, it was more useful still in its earlier stages, at least on the Continent, and indirectly in this country also; for either by itself, or in conjunction with other societies, such as the Illuminati, it opposed the political despotism, then prevalent all over Europe, and formed an anti-Inquisition to clerical obscurantism and oppression, wherefore it was persecuted by Protestant and Roman Catholic rulers alike. The rapid progress achieved in modern times by humanity and toleration, is undoubtedly due to the tendency which speculative Masonry took in the last, and to its political activity in all countries, except England, in this century. Founded in ages when the possession of religious and scientific knowledge was the privilege of the few, it preserved that knowledge—then indeed a small rivulet only—from being choked up by the weeds of indifference and superstition; but now that that small rivulet has been overtaken by, and swallowed up in, the boundless, ever-advancing ocean of modern science, which may boldly proclaim its discoveries to the world, a society that professes to keep knowledge for the few is but a retrograde institution. Philo, about 1780, properly defined English Masonry, as it then was, and is to-day: "The lodges indiscriminately receive members, go through ceremonies, play at mysteries without understanding them, eat, drink, and digest well, and now and then bestow alms—such are the formal English lodges."

496. *Vanity of Masonic Ceremonial.*—There are thousands of excellent men who have never seen the inside of a lodge, and yet are genuine Freemasons, *i.e.* liberal-minded and enlightened men, devoted to the study of Nature and the progress of mankind, moral and intellectual; men devoid of all political and religious prejudices, true cosmopolitans. And there are thousands who have passed through every masonic degree, and yet are not Masons; men who take appearances for realities, the means for the end, the ceremonies of the lodge for Freemasonry. But the lodge, with all its symbols, is only the *form* of the masonic *thought*. In the present age, however, this form, which was very suitable, nay, necessary, for the time when it was instituted, becomes an anachronism. The affectation of possessing a secret is a childish and mischievous weakness. The objects modern Masons profess to pursue are brotherly love, relief, and truth; surely the pursuit of these objects cannot need any secret rites, traditions, and ceremonies. In spite of the great parade made in masonic publications about the science and learning peculiar to the craft, what discovery of new scientific facts or principles can Masons claim for the Order? Nay, are well-known and long-established truths familiar to them, and made the objects of study in the lodges? Nothing of the kind. That noble character, the Emperor-King Frederick III., who had early in life been initiated, resigned the Grand-Mastership when, after patient and diligent inquiry, for which his exalted position gave him exceptional facilities, he, in spite of a secret inclination to the contrary, became satisfied of the unsoundness and vanity of masonic pretensions.

497. *Masonry diffuses no Knowledge.*—We get neither science nor learning from a Mason, *as* a Mason. The Order, in fact, abjures religious and political discussion in this country, and yet it pretends that to it mankind is indebted for its progress, and that, were it abolished, mental darkness would again overshadow the world. But how is this progress to be effected, if the chronic diseases in the existing religious and political systems of the world are not to be meddled with? As well might an association for the advancement of learning abjure inquiry into chemical and mechanical problems, and then boast of the benefits it conferred on science! It is Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted. If then Masonry wishes to live on, and be something more than a society of Odd Fellows or Druids, more lodges must be formed by educated men—and fewer by the mere publicans and other tradesmen that now found lodges to

create a market for their goods—who might do some good by teaching moral and natural philosophy from a deeper ground than the scholastic and grossly material basis on which all teaching at present is founded, and by rescuing science from the degraded position of handmaiden to mere physical comfort, into which modern materialism has forced it.

498. *Decay of Freemasonry.*—The more I study Freemasonry, the more I am repelled by its pretences. The facility and frequency with which worthless characters are received into the Order; the manner in which all its statutes are disregarded; the dislike with which every brother who insists on reform is looked upon by the rest; the difficulty of expelling obnoxious members; the introduction of many spurious rites, and the deceptiveness of the rites themselves, designed to excite curiosity without ever satisfying it; the puerility of the symbolism; the paltriness of the secret when revealed to the candidate, and his ill-concealed disgust when at last he gets behind the scenes and sees through the rotten canvas that forms so beautiful a landscape in front—all these too plainly show that the lodge has banished Freemasonry. And like monasticism or chivalry, it is no longer wanted. Having no political influence, and no political aspirations, or, when it has such aspirations revealing them by insane excesses, such as the citation before masonic tribunals of Napoleon III., the Emperor of Germany, the Crown Prince, the Pope, and Marshal Prim, by French, Italian, and Spanish Masons respectively, and after a farcical sham trial, condemning the accused so cited—to which summons of course they paid no attention—to death, or in plain English, to assassination, a crime really perpetrated on the person of Marshal Prim; being no longer even a secret society—for a society sanctioned by the State, as Freemasonry is, cannot be called a secret society; having no industrial or intellectual rallying-point—it must eventually die from sheer inanition. It may prolong its existence by getting rid of all the rites and ceremonies which are neither simple nor grand, nor founded on any authority or symbolic meaning, and by renouncing the silly pretence of secrets,[1] and undertaking to teach what I have sketched in various portions of this work, concerning the origin and meaning of Masonry and its symbols, illustrating its teaching by the ornaments and practice of the lodges. This seems to be the only ground on which Freemasonry could claim to have its lease of existence, *as* Freemasonry,

[1] "Un secreto, che sanno tre,
Un secreto mai non è."—*Italian Proverb.*

renewed, for not even the Masonic marriages, introduced by French lodges, will perpetuate its existence. I have before me accounts of two such marriages, performed without the usual ecclesiastic or civil ceremonies, the one in the lodge *La France Maçonnique* in Paris in 1887, and the other in a lodge at Toulouse, in the same year, as also of two others, celebrated in Paris, in 1882, when M. Elysée Reclus, a Freemason, and one of the five well-known Anarchist brothers, gave away two of his daughters to two brothers, at a dinner held in a private house, simply declaring the two couples by that mere declaration to be married. But the ladies do not approve of these hole-and-corner espousals.

499. *Masonic Opinions of Masonry.*—Masons have been very indignant with me for making these statements; but honest members of the craft know, and occasionally admit, that I am right. In 1798 a Mason wrote in the *Monthly Magazine*, "The landlord (who is always a brother) promotes harmony, as it is called, by providing choice suppers and good liquors, the effects of which are late hours and inebriety; and thus are made up two-thirds of modern lodges." And again: "Hogarth was a member of the fraternity, and actually served the office of Grand Steward in 1735, . . . yet in his picture of 'Night,' one of the most conspicuous figures is that of a master of a lodge led home drunk by the tyler." The too facile admission of worthless members is regretted by the same writer, as it is by modern Masons (*e.g. Freemason*, 26th June 1875).

Brother John Yarker in his "Notes on the Scientific and Religious Mysteries of Antiquity" (Hogg, 1872), a zealous Mason, says: "As the masonic fraternity is now governed, the craft is fast becoming the paradise of the *bon vivant*, of the 'charitable' hypocrite, who . . . decorates his breast with the 'charity jewel'; . . . the manufacturer of paltry masonic tinsel; the rascally merchant who swindles in hundreds and even thousands, by appealing to the tender consciences of those few who do regard their O. B.'s, and the Masonic 'Emperors' and other charlatans, who make power or money out of the aristocratic pretensions which they have tacked on to our institution, *ad captandum vulgus.*" This I think is enough to show that my censures are well founded.

500. *Masonic Literature.*—It is almost absurd to talk of masonic literature; it scarcely exists. Except the works written by Oliver, Mackey, Findel, and Ragon, there is scarcely anything worth reading about Freemasonry, of which a Freemason is the author. The countless lectures by brethren, with a few exceptions, consist of mere truisms

and platitudes. Its periodical literature—in this country at all events—is essentially of the Grub Street kind, consisting of mere trade-circulars, supported by puffing masonic tradesmen and vain officials, who like to have their working in the lodge trumpeted forth in a fashion which occasionally trenches on imbecility, as could readily be shown by extracts from newspaper reports. All attempts permanently to establish masonic periodicals of a higher order have hitherto failed from want of encouragement. The fact is, men of education take very little interest in Masonry, for it has nothing to offer them in an intellectual point of view; because even Masons who have attained to every *ne plus ultra* of the institution, know little of its origin and meaning.

500*a*. *The Quatuor Coronati Lodge.*—The literary shortcomings of Masonry I have, in the interests of truth, and as an impartial historian been compelled to point out in the previous section, have been recognised by intelligent Masons, and such recognition has, in 1884, led to the foundation of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. Members must be possessed of literary or artistic qualifications; to belong to it, therefore, is in itself a distinction, and, as may be supposed, the lodge is composed chiefly of well-known masonic historians and antiquaries, and thus occupies a position totally different from all other masonic lodges. Its objects are the promotion of masonic knowledge, by papers read and discussions thereon in the lodge; by the publication of its transactions, and the reprinting of scarce and valuable works on Freemasonry, such as MSS., *e.g.* "The Masonic Poem" (*circa* 1390), the earliest MS. relating to Freemasonry; Matthew Cooke's Harleian and Lansdowne MSS.; or printed works, as *e.g.*, "Anderson's Constitutions" of 1738, or Reproductions of Masonic Certificates. All these have been issued by this lodge in volumes, entitled "Ars Quatuor Coronatorum," well printed, and expensively illustrated. Connected with the lodge is a "Correspondence Circle," whose members reside in all parts of the globe, and form a literary society of Masons, aiming at the progress of the craft. But by progress can only be meant extension of Masonry; the "Transactions" and "Reprints" can add nothing to the knowledge the best-informed members already possess; but the "Reprints," by their æsthetic sumptuousness and the learned comments accompanying them, invest Masonry with a dignity which may attract to it more of the intelligence of mankind than it has hitherto done, and the labours of Quatuor Coronatorum therefore deserve the hearty support of the craft.

BOOK XII

INTERNATIONAL, COMMUNE, AND ANARCHISTS

INTERNATIONAL, COMMUNE, AND ANARCHISTS

501. *Introductory Remarks.*—There exists at present in a state of suspended animation an association of working—or rather, *talking*—men, pretending to have for its object the uniting in one fraternal bond the workers of all countries, and the advocating of the interests of labour, and those only. Though it protests against being a secret society, it yet indulges in such underhand dealings, insidiously endeavouring to work mischief between employers and employed, and aiming at the subversion of the existing order of things, that it deserves to be denounced with all the societies professedly secret. In this country its influence is scarcely felt, because the English workmen that join it are numerically few: according to the statement of the secretary of the International himself, the society in its most palmy days counted only about 8000 English members—and these, with here and there an exception, belonged to the most worthless portion of the working classes. It ever is chiefly the idle and dissipated or unskilled artizan who thinks his position is to be improved by others and not by himself. To hear the interested demagogues and paid agitators of the "International," or of "Unions," the working classes would seem to be exceptionally oppressed, and to labour under disadvantages greater than any that weigh upon other sections of the community. Yet no other class is so much protected by the legislature, and none, except the paupers, pay less towards the general expenses of the country in direct or indirect taxation. The wages a skilled artizan can earn are higher than the remuneration obtainable by thousands of men, who have enjoyed a university education, or sunk money in some professional apprenticeship; whilst he is free from the burden incident to maintaining a certain social status. His hours of labour are such as to leave him plenty of leisure for enjoyment, especially in this country; and as regards extra holidays, he is on the whole pretty liberally dealt with, especially by the large employers of labour, the capitalists, against whom the street-spouters, who for their

own advantage get up public demonstrations, are always inveighing in a manner which would be simply ridiculous, were it not mischievous. But then if they did not constantly attempt to render the workman dissatisfied with his lot, their occupation would be gone. And so, as the doctors who, for want of patients, get up hospitals for the cure of particular diseases, try to persuade every man they come in contact with, that he is suffering from some such disease; so these agitators endeavour to talk the workman into the delusion that he is the most unfortunate and most oppressed individual under the sun. To wish to act for one's self and work out one's own salvation is no doubt very praiseworthy; but workmen ought to bear in mind that they may be the tools of ambitious men in their own class, who look upon and use them as such for their own purposes, men who want to be generals commanding soldiers. But the soldiers of the Unions are not worth much. Those workmen who are not satisfied with adhering to the statutes of the society in order to get rid of troublesome appeals, and to avoid being molested by their comrades, but who fervently embrace its principles and count upon their success, usually are the most idle, the least saving, the least sober. The fanatics of the Unions, those who ought to form their principal strength, are formed, not by the *élite*, but by the scum of the working classes. The chiefs are not much better. The more intelligent and honest founders of such societies have gradually withdrawn from them in disgust.

502. *Socialistic Schemes.*—Schemes for the regeneration of mankind have been hatched in every age, from Plato and his Republic down to Louis Blanc's *Organisation du Travail*, and the International. Many communistic movements took place in the sixteenth century, and the brief history of the Anabaptist kingdom of Munster presents striking resemblances with that of the Commune of Paris. Babeuf and the Conspiracy of the Equals remind us of the demagogues who filled Paris with blood and fire. The *collegia opificum* of Rome, the guilds of France and Germany, the trades-corporations, the compagnonnage—all these were the forerunners of modern trade-unions and the International. The systems of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Cabet, Louis Blanc, and Owen also had their day. In this country no law has been passed against trade-unions, and therefore they flourish here, and have led to deplorable events, such as the Sheffield outrages, which, for diabolical fury, deserve to be placed side by side with the doings of the Commune. The

reader will probably remember the fact that men who had belonged to the Sheffield trade-unions, but withdrew from them, were assassinated, their houses blown up, and every imaginable kind of tyranny and persecution practised upon them for the space of some fifteen years. Still, as the majority of the Parisian workmen were innocent of the crimes of the Commune, so the trade-unions were not answerable for the doings of a restricted number of their members. But these trade-unions, dating from about the year 1833, are still to be condemned, because they are the instigators and upholders of strikes, the greatest curse, not on the hated capitalist, but on the poor workman. Now the International was a combination of trade-unions, with the additional poison of Communism diffused throughout its system.

503. *History of the International.*—The first attempt at an international society was made by a small number of German workmen in London, who had been expelled from France in 1839 for taking part in the *émeute* in Paris. Its members consisted of Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Danes, and Swedes. Of the few English members, Ernest Jones was one. The society was on friendly terms with the English Socialists, the Chartists, and the London French Democratic Society. Out of that friendship sprang the Society of the Fraternal Democrats, who were in correspondence with a number of democratic societies in Belgium. In November 1847 a German Communist Conference was held in London, at which Dr. Karl Marx was present. In the manifesto then put forth, it was declared that the aim of the Communists was the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists by the acquisition of political power. The practical measures by which this was to be effected were the abolition of private property in land; the centralisation of credit in the hands of the State—the leading agitators of course to be the chiefs of the State—by means of a national bank; the centralisation of the means of transport in the hands of the State; national workshops; the reclamation and improvement of land; and the gratuitous education of all the children. But all these fine schemes of amelioration, or rather spoliation, in consequence of the Revolution of February 1848, ended in smoke; and it was not till the year 1859, when the London builders' dispute arose, that new alliances among the working-men were formed. In 1860 a Trade Unionist, Manhood Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot Association was established. As if it had not enough of what might be called legitimate work to do, the association

also undertook to agitate in favour of Poland, for which purpose it co-operated with the National League for the Independence of Poland. The London International Exhibition of 1862 induced the French Government to assist many French workmen with means to visit that exhibition; "a visit," said the French press, "which will enable our workmen to study the great works of art and industry, remove the leaven of international discord, and replace national jealousies by fraternal emulation." It is impossible to say how far these French workmen studied the works of art and industry exhibited in 1862, but it is quite certain that the old leaven of international discord, which up to that time had not been very formidable, was speedily replaced by a new leaven of social discord, not so virulent at first, it is true, as it subsequently became in the after-days of the International. Many of the original members of this association, in fact, eventually withdrew from it, as they refused to be identified with its excesses, which had not been planned or foreseen by its founders. On the 5th of August, all the delegates met at a dinner given to them by their English colleagues at Freemasons' Hall, when an address was read which formed, as it were, the foundation-stone of the International. The Imperial Commission that had enabled the French workmen to visit the London Exhibition had no doubt furnished them with return tickets; but several of the artizans made no use of their second halves, since profitable employment in London was found for them by their English brethren, so that they might form connecting links between the workmen of the two countries. The next year a new meeting was found necessary. There was no longer an Exhibition, nor subsidies from the Imperial Government to pay travelling expenses. The pretext, however, was found in a demonstration just then made in favour of Poland. Six French delegates having mulcted their mates in contributions towards the pleasant trip, came over, and the democrats of London and Paris were invited to co-operate in the liberation of Poland, and to form an international working-men's alliance. Various meetings were held, and all the stale twaddle concerning Poland and the emancipation of the working classes talked over again. A central committee of working-men of different countries, to have its seat in London—truly England is the political and social dunghill of Europe!—was appointed, and a collection of course followed, which at the most important meeting realised three guineas. A paltry sum after so much talk! The members of the

committee, holding its powers by the resolution of the public meeting held on September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, then declared the International Working-Men's Association to be established; and congresses were appointed to be held at different times and places, to decide on the measures to be taken to found the working-men's Eldorado. Many societies at first were affiliated, but dissensions soon broke out among them, and many, such as the Italian Working-Men's Society, withdrew again. In 1866, a meeting or congress was held at Geneva, where it was decided that an inquiry into the condition of the working classes of all countries should be made respecting rate of wages, hours of labour, &c. And this inquiry, which never was made on the part of the International, was to be a preliminary to practical measures—no wonder that the association produced nothing practical. At this Geneva Congress resolutions were passed in favour of transferring railways and other means of locomotion to the people, and of destroying the monopoly of the great companies "that subject the working classes to arbitrary laws, assailing both the dignity of man and individual liberty." Resolutions were also passed in favour of direct taxation. How this suggestion would be received by the working-man has very pleasantly been pointed out by *Punch* or some other comic paper: "Mrs. Brown (*loq.*)—'Well, Mrs. Jones, my husband says that if they tax him, he will take it out in parish relief.'" The abolition of standing armies and the independence of Poland —Poland again—were also decided on. Both these points are still decided on, and will probably remain at the same interesting stage of progress a little longer.

504. *Objects and Aims of International.*—To sum up what was proposed at the latter congresses: Quarries, coal and other mines, as well as railways, shall belong to the social collectivity, represented by the State; but by the State regenerated, that will concede them, not, as now, to capitalists, but to associations of workmen. The soil shall be granted to agricultural associations; canals, roads, telegraphs, and forests shall belong collectively to society. Contracts of lease, or letting, shall be converted into contracts of sale; that is to say, capital shall no longer be entitled to claim interest. If I borrow £1000, I shall have paid off the debt in twenty years by an annual payment of £50. Such were the doctrines of this society, whose motto was, *La propriété, c'est le vol.* All these, however, were clothed in very fine words—"economic evolution," "social collec-

tivity," "scientific and rational exploitation," "social liquidation," &c. No congress met in 1870, in consequence of the war; but the programme that was to have formed the subject of discussion has been published. The first question was: On the necessity of abolishing the public debt. The third: Concerning practical means for converting landed and funded property into social property. The fifth: Conditions of co-operative production on a national scale. The Belgian Committee proposed as an additional question: Concerning the practical means for constituting agricultural sections in the International. Thus private property was to be abolished, private enterprise destroyed, and the poison of Communism, with which large towns are now infected, to be diffused throughout the country. What would these men have done could they, according to their intention, have met in Paris in 1870? The pertinacity with which the cause of Poland is sought to be identified with the objects of the International has already been alluded to. Poland seems a mine that can never be exhausted. Thousands of rogues and vagabonds of all countries have fattened, are fattening, and will yet fatten on this carcass, as burnt-out tradesmen have been known to flourish on the fire by which they lost everything!

505. *The International in England.*—In this country, as we have seen, the International had only a limited success. It indeed held public meetings and demonstrations, and led to some insignificant riots, for the occurrence of which our Government of course was very much to blame. There were, indeed, alarmists who were led astray by the "bounce" of the International, and who thus invested it with greater importance than intrinsically attached to it. Thus a Paris paper contained a letter from a London correspondent, which gave an awful picture of the danger threatening this country from the spread of socialistic doctrines. The writer said: "The whole of this vast empire is permeated by secret societies. The International here holds its meetings almost publicly. It is said that the greater number of the dispossessed princes of India, a good number of officers belonging to the army and navy, as well as members of Parliament, and even ministers, are affiliated to it (!). The Government is aware of the infernal plan by which, at a given moment, the public buildings of London are to be exposed to the fate which befell so many in Paris. Boats are already waiting on the Thames to receive the treasures of the Bank of England —an easy prey, say the conspirators—as soon as the main

artery of the Strand shall have been burnt, and the public buildings, the barracks especially, shall have been blown up, as was three years ago the Clerkenwell prison." Perhaps the writer was only joking; and if I thought the leaders of the International possessed any Machiavellian talent, I should say they themselves caused the letter to be written to give the world an exaggerated idea of their power—therein imitating the President of the London Republican Club, who boasted of his power of pulling down the monarchy, as that would be the readiest means of attracting fresh members; for the idea of belonging to a powerful and universally diffused brotherhood exercises a great fascination over the minds of only partially educated men, such as form the bulk of the working classes.

506. *The International Abroad.* — Abroad, however, its action was much more marked. It fomented serious riots in Holland, Belgium, and France; and in the last-named country it especially stimulated Communism, and supported the Paris Commune in all its atrocities, which were spoken of in the most laudatory terms in the then recently published pamphlet, "The Civil War in France" (Truelove, 1871). But even continental workmen have ere this discovered the hollowness of the International. The working engineers of Brussels, instead of receiving during a recent strike fifteen francs weekly, as promised, were paid only six francs; and having imposed upon the masters an augmentation of fifty per cent. on overtime, the masters, in order to avoid this ruinous tariff, had no work performed after the regular hours. The men, finding themselves losers by this rule, enforced on them by the International, sent in their resignations as members of the society, which they described as the "Leprosy of Europe," and the "Company of Millionaires . . . on paper." At a conference held in London, the Russian delegate urged that his country especially offered an excellent field for the spread of socialist doctrines, and that the students were quite ripe for revolution. Wherefore it was decided that a special appeal should be addressed to the Russian students and workmen.

507. *The International and the Empire.*—At the time when the International was founded, the French Empire was as yet in all its strength. None of the parties that secretly strove against it seemed to have any chance of success; nor from their political and social characteristics could these parties, though all bent on the overthrow of the empire, coalesce and act as one combined force. The International

refused to ally itself to any of them or to meddle with politics, but declared social questions paramount to all political considerations; and to the position thus assumed by the association it was due that the Imperial Government did not molest it, but that the ministers allowed it to develop itself, hoping at the convenient moment to win it over to their interest. These ministers considered themselves very profound politicians, when they had fomented a quarrel between Prussia and Austria; trusting, when these two powers should mutually have exhausted each other, to seize the Rhenish provinces. They looked upon themselves as small Machiavellis when they permitted the International to grow in order some day to use it against a mutinous bourgeoisie. The Emperor had an opportunity on September 2, at Sedan, and the Empress on September 4, at Paris, to judge of the value of such policy. However, the scheme of the association having been settled in London in 1864, the organisers opened at Paris a *bureau de correspondance*, which was neither formally interdicted nor regularly authorised by the Prefect and the Minister. But the constantly-growing power of the International, shown by the strikes of Roubaix, Amiens, Paris, Geneva, &c., after a time compelled the Government either to direct or to destroy it. The Parisian manifesto read at Geneva was stopped at the French frontier; but M. Rouher agreed to admit it into France, if the association would insert some passages thanking the Emperor for what he had done for the working classes—a suggestion which was received with derision by the members. In the meantime the old revolutionary party looked with suspicion on the foundation of the International; for, as this last declared that it would not meddle with politics, the others called out, Treason! and thus the two parties were soon in a condition of violent opposition. In 1867, the Congress of Lausanne voted against war, but at the same moment the other fraction of the demagogues, assembled at Geneva, under pretence of forming a congress of *peace*, declared war to all tyrants and oppressors of the people. However, the two parties, the bourgeois demagogues and the workmen demagogues, eventually united; and thus it came to pass that by virtue of this pact the International took part in two revolutionary manifestations which occurred about six weeks after—the one at the tomb of Manin in the cemetery of Montmartre, and the other on the following day on the Boulevard Montmartre, to protest against the French occupation of Rome. The International having thus been carried

away to declare war against the Government, the latter determined to prosecute it. The association was declared to be dissolved, and fifteen of the leaders were each fined one hundred francs. The International taking no notice of the decree of dissolution, a second prosecution was instituted, and nine of the accused were condemned to imprisonment for three months. The International now hid itself amidst the multitude of working-men's societies of all descriptions that were either authorised or at least tolerated, and made enormous progress, so that its chiefs at last declared themselves able to do without any extraneous support. The International, said one of the speakers at the Basle Congress (1869), is and must be a state within states; let these go on as suits them, until our state is the strongest. Then, on the ruins of these, we shall erect our own fully prepared, such as it exists in every section. The *Volksstimme*, the Austrian organ of the society, said: "To us the red flag is the symbol of universal love of mankind. Let our enemies beware lest they transform it against themselves into a flag of terror." To have an organ of its own the International founded the *Marseillaise*, with Rochefort for its chief, his association therewith having induced certain capitalists to find the necessary funds. Another personage with whom it became connected was General Cluseret (669). Cluseret, as an adventurer, always on the look-out for what might turn up, saw the power such an association as the International might command, and the latter found in him a willing tool. From a letter he addressed from New York to Varlin, on February 17, 1870, it also appears that all the crimes of which he has since then been guilty, were premeditated, and that he had from the first resolved not to perish without involving Paris in his fall. "On that day" (of the downfall of Louis Napoleon), he says, "on that day, we or nothing. On that day Paris must be ours, or Paris must cease to exist." That this feeling was shared by other members of the association may be inferred from the fact that, at the house of one of the affiliated was found a dictionary which formed the key of their secret correspondence. Now, besides the usual words, we find such as nitro-glycerine and picrate of potash; at the house of another, recipes were discovered for the manufacture of nitro-glycerine, and of various other explosive compounds. Some of the recipes were followed by such directions as these "To be thrown in at windows," "To be thrown into gutters," &c. The attempted plebiscite in support of the

reforms voted by the Senate, in January 1870, was violently opposed by the International, who declared in favour of a republic. On the occasion of the plot of the Orsini shells, the society, in defending itself against the charge of having had any share in it, declared that it did not war against individual perpetrators of *coups d'état*, but that it was a permanent conspiracy of all the oppressed, which shall exist until all capitalists, priests, and political adventurers shall have disappeared. Such a declaration of war against all men that had any interest in the maintenance of public order, and especially against many men forming the then Imperial Government, naturally induced a third prosecution.

Thirty-eight members were indicted, many of whom we meet again as active members of the Commune. Some were acquitted, others condemned to one year's imprisonment. No one suspected that the names of these obscure workmen, condemned as members of a secret society, would soon be connected with the most horrible disasters of Paris, and that these men, sentenced to such slight punishments, would at the end of a year reappear before a military tribunal, after having for two months and a half filled terrified Paris with pillage, murder, and incendiary fires.

508. *The International and the War.*—The International condemned all war except war against bourgeois, capitalists, monopolists, parasites — that is to say, the classes that live not by manual labour, but by intellectual work, or the savings of any kind of labour. It abolished national wars, to replace them by social war. For this reason it so pertinaciously insisted on the abolition of all standing armies, which are of course great obstacles to its own plans. It therefore protested against the Franco-Prussian war, but as this opposition ended in mere talk, it need not further be dilated on. Its only results were to consign some of the most violent opponents to prison; and there is no proof that one single soldier of the regular Prussian army, or even of the *Landwehr*, deserted or refused to fight, in order to remain faithful to the theories of the society. In France the affiliated of the International were only brave in civil war.

On September 3, 1870, the disaster of Sedan became known at Paris. On the next day, Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, and Paris proclaimed the Republic. This simultaneous movement was the result of an understanding existing between the leading members of the International in the various parts of France; but that the "Jules Favres and Gambettas," that *vermine bourgeoise*, as the International

called them, should obtain any share of power, was very galling to the demagogues. At Lyons and Marseilles, however, the supreme power fell into the hands of the lowest wretches. The Commune installed at Lyons began its work by raising the red flag—that of the International. At Paris the association pretended at first to be most anxious to fight the Prussians. When the battalions were sent to the front, however, it was found that those comprising most Internationals were the most ready "to fall back in good order," or even to flee in great disorder at the first alarm; and General Clement Thomas pointed out this instructive fact to the readers of the *Journal Officiel*. But when a few Prussian regiments entered Paris, the International, through its central committee, announced that the moment for action was come; and so the members seized the cannons scattered in various parts of the city, and then began that series of excesses, for which the Commune will always enjoy an infamous notoriety.

509. *The International and the Commune.*—One would have supposed that the International would disavow the Communists; but, on the contrary, it approved of their proceedings. Flames were still ascending from the Hôtel de Ville, when already numerous sections of the International throughout Europe expressed their admiration of the conduct of the Parisian outcasts.

At Zürich, at a meeting of the members of the International, it was declared that "the struggle maintained by the Commune of Paris was just and worthy, and that all thinking men ought to join in the contest."

At Brussels the Belgian section of the International protested against the prosecution of the malefactors of Paris. At Geneva, two days before the entrance of the Versaillais into Paris, an address to the Commune was voted, declaring that it (the Commune) represented "the economic aspirations of the working classes." The German Internationalists were no less positive in their praise of the Communists: "We are ready to defend the acts of the Commune at all times, and against all comers," said a socialistic paper published at Leipzig. The Italians sent an address to the Commune, ending thus: "To capital which said, Ye shall starve, they replied: We will live by our labour. To despotism they replied: We are free! To the cannons and chassepots of the réactionnaires they opposed their naked breasts. They fell, but fell as heroes! Now the reaction calls them bandits. Shall we permit it? No!

Let us invite our brethren to our homes, and protect them. The principles of the Commune are ours; we accept the responsibility of their acts." The English Internationalists were too few to prove their approbation of the Commune by any public demonstration; but in private they did so very energetically. One of the members even declared that the good time "was really coming." "Soon," said he, "we shall be able to dethrone the Queen of England, turn Buckingham Palace into a workshop, and pull down the York column, as the noble French people has pulled down the Vendôme column." (Be it observed here, that as this column chiefly commemorated French victories over the Germans, this act of vandalism has by some authorities been attributed to the influence of Prussian gold liberally distributed to certain patriotic members of the Commune.) But the London section of the International clearly put forth its views on the conduct of the Commune. The pamphlet, "The Civil War in France," published for the council by Truelove, 256 High Holborn, the office of the International, is a continuous panegyric on the Commune, and was at first signed by all the members of the council; but two of them, Lucraft and Odger, afterwards withdrew their names, stating that they had, in the first instance, been appended without their knowledge—which appeared to be the fact.

510. *Budget of the International.*—One portion of the organisation of the International, and that the most important—for the chiefs, of course!—its budget, remains to be noticed. It is scarcely necessary to say that there was a total absence of official accounts; but the following details, referring to France and Belgium, will give some idea as to the way in which funds were raised and applied. Every member on his admission paid a fee of fifty centimes, for which he received his admission card, which was renewed annually and gratuitously. He had also to pay a minimum annual tax of ten centimes, to go towards the general expenses of the association. Then each federation imposed a special tax for its own expenses. At Lyons and Paris this amounted to ten centimes per month. Thus it appears that the annual tax was very light, amounting only to one franc thirty cents, which was not paying too dear for the honour of belonging to a society that aspired to the government of the world, and commenced by burning it. But this honour could be had at a still cheaper rate; for the Swiss branch charged its members only ten centimes a year. Yet even

these small sums seemed difficult to be got in, and the statutes were very severe upon defaulters. But there were taxes to pay to the sections, which raised the yearly contributions to seven or eight francs. Nor was this all. In the various legal prosecutions the society had to undergo there was frequent reference to the *caisse fédérative du sou*, though the expression was nowhere exactly defined. So far as has been ascertained it alluded to a voluntary weekly subscription of five centimes, collected in workshops and factories, from workmen who did not belong to the association, but intended to join it, or to support it without joining it. In the statutes of the Parisian branch, Article 9 further said that the council may, if necessary, vote larger sums than the general budget would justify, and proportionately increase the amount of contributions payable by the members. But the most powerful arm of the association, when any particular object was to be attained, such, for instance, as the success of a strike, was subscription. Thus the successful termination of the strike in the building trade of Geneva in 1868, was thought of such importance as to call forth unusual exertions. But the delegate who was sent to London to collect subscriptions from the English workmen met with but slight success; not because these were niggardly, but because, in spite of their avowed hatred of state forms and aristocratic deliberation, they yet so closely imitated both, that the Genevese workmen might have been starved into submission before the English workmen had resolved to succour them, had not the Parisian workmen at once subscribed ten thousand francs. What these annual subscriptions may have amounted to, it is impossible to tell. No doubt the total was very great, considering the large number of members; and yet it was insufficient, in consequence of the strikes that were constantly taking place at all places and times. The journals were full of the fine phrases used by the chiefs of the International concerning the sufferings of the workmen reduced by infamous capitalists to the point of forsaking their work and of leaving the workshops where their misery was turned to account. A confidential letter of Varlin, one of the chiefs of the Paris federation, which was brought into court at the trial of the International on June 22, 1870, at Paris, however, showed that the chiefs did not speak quite so feelingly of these sufferings, when they are not expected to be heard by their dupes: "This strike which we declared closed ten days ago, leaves four hundred workmen on our hands. The day before yesterday they

wanted to destroy their former workshops and drive away the *mogs* that had taken their places. Fortunately we restrained them, but we are greatly bothered by this affair (*nous sommes bien embêtés par cette affaire*)."

511. *Attempt to Revive the International.*—An International Trades Union Congress was held in London in 1888 for the avowed purpose of reviving the International, which collapsed in 1871, though branches of it, such as the Jurassic Federation of Workmen, the International Brethren, the Council of Dynamite, at whose meetings in Chicago the editor of *Freiheit* presided, continue to vegetate. But the discussions as to the means of physically and morally raising the working classes as yet remain mere talk. As one of the speakers at the London Congress remarked, "The chief difficulty in the way of the reconstruction of the International lies in the apathy and indifference of the workmen themselves," which shows that the workmen are after all not such fools as agitators think or wish them to be.

512. *Anarchists.*—The fear of hell, the only means known to the churches of all denominations, to keep men from vice, has never been an efficient one for that purpose. In the Middle Ages, which, we are told, were permeated by deep religious feeling, club-law, persecution of the Jews, and inhuman cruelties indulged in by Church and State were the rule. The latter two have in our days become more civilised, but the masses retain their sting, and men are driven by wretchedness to attempt its removal by the destruction of all existing order. Karl Marx in 1864 first thought of consolidating this principle by a secret society, the International Union of Working-Men. In 1868 the Russian, Michael Bakunin, and the Belgian, Victor Dave, infused into the association the poison of Anarchism, which in 1871 produced the Paris Commune. But disputes arose between the more moderate members, the Social Democrats, and the Anarchists in 1872, who thenceforth formed two distinct camps. The social democrat and bookbinder, John Most (born 1846), joined the Anarchists, and in 1879 founded in London the *Freiheit*, an Anarchist paper of the most violent character. In 1883 the Anarchists attempted to blow up the German Emperor and those around him at the unveiling of the monument in the Niederwald; the two ringleaders were caught and beheaded, but in 1885 Dr. Rumpf, a high police official, who had been instrumental in securing the conviction of the criminals, was assassinated at Frankfort-on-the-Main; only the least important of the

assassins, Julius Lieske, twenty-two years of age, was discovered and beheaded. Most then founded another more secret society of propagandists, to which only the leading members of the association were admitted. When the *Freiheit* applauded the Phœnix Park murders it was suppressed, but reappeared in Switzerland, and lastly in the United States, to which Most in 1882 emigrated, and the propaganda of Anarchism, whose secret chief seat was at Chicago, made rapid progress in the States, as well as in Europe, and culminated in the dynamite outrages at Chicago, assassinations at Strasburg, Stuttgart, Vienna, and Prague.

In the latter city, early in 1883, a secret council of Anarchists condemned the prefect of the police, who had had some of the assassins arrested, to death; lots were drawn as to who was to do the deed, and it fell on a journeyman glove-maker, named Dressler, who, however, committed suicide to escape becoming a murderer. But before his death he had written a letter to his parents, revealing the existence of the society; the information it gave enabled the police to arrest the most important members. On the 4th July 1883, a shoe manufacturer in one of the most frequented suburban streets of Vienna was set upon in his house by two individuals, who held a sponge saturated with chloroform to his face until he became unconscious, when he was robbed of 782 florins. Some weeks after the crime was traced to an Anarchist association, and seventeen men and two women were arrested, who, after investigation, were found to be members of a secret association, whose aim, according to pamphlets found on them, was to do away with the throne, altar, and money-bags, and to establish a Red Republic. Small associations, it appeared, consisting of from five to nine members each, had been formed among the Radical workmen, each member being bound to establish another such small circle. The trial appears to have broken up the society, though Anarchists in most countries of Europe and other parts of the world remain very active, openly avowing the results they aim at, results in themselves impracticable, and which, if they could be attained, would render the existence of society and of civilisation impossible. The Anarchists, who wish to reform the world, should begin by reforming themselves.

BOOK XIII

POLITICAL SECRET SOCIETIES

"These were days, when my heart was volcanic,
As the scoriac rivers that roll,
As the lavas, that restlessly roll
Their sulphurous currents down Yanik,
In the clime of the boreal pole;
That groan as they roll down Mount Yanik,
In the clime of the ultimate pole."

E. A. POE.

I

CHINESE SOCIETIES

513. *Earliest Secret Chinese Societies.*—The earliest notice we have of a secret Chinese league is towards the close of the Han dynasty (A.D. 185). Three patriots, having then associated themselves, defended the throne against the "Yellow Cap" rebels, a society numbering among its members the flower of Chinese *littérateurs*. From that time until the establishment of the present Tartar dynasty (twelfth century), the League showed few signs of vitality. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century five monks and seven other persons bound themselves by an oath, which they ratified by mixing blood from the arm of each, and drinking it in common, to overthrow the Tsings, the present Tartar dynasty, and restore the Mings, the dispossessed Chinese dynasty. The name of the society they founded was Pe-lin-kiao, or the White Lily. The members relied on a prophecy that one of them should be emperor of China. The leaders were Wang-lung and a bonze named Fan-ui. The former made himself master of the town of Shoo-chang-hien, but was soon driven thence, and eventually captured, and executed with many of his followers. In 1777 the Pe-lin-kiao again appeared, only to be defeated again; the heads of the leaders, including those of two women, were cut off and placed in cages for public inspection. In 1800 a sect called the Wonderful Association, and another, called the Tsing-lien-kiao, supposed to be the Pe-lin-kiao under a new name, conspired against the ruling dynasty, but unsuccessfully. Under the reign of the Emperor Kia-King (1799–1820) arose the Th'iën-Hauw-Hoi'h, that is, the family of the Queen of Heaven, spread through Cochin-China, Siam, and Corea, with its headquarters in the southern provinces of the empire. The society on being discovered and, as it was thought, exterminated, arose again under the name of the Great Hung League; Hung literally means flood, and the leaders adopted the name to intimate that

their society was to flood the earth. To avoid the appearance of all belonging to one society, they gave different names—some borrowed from previously existing sects—to the branches they established. Thus they were known as the Triad Society, the Blue Lotus Hall, the Golden Orchid District, and others. These soon attracted the attention of Government, and for some time they were kept in check. About 1826 the chief leader of the League was one Kwang San. It was reported that, to make himself ferocious he once drank gall, taken out of a murdered man's body, mixed with wine. He resided chiefly at the tin-mines of Looçoot, where the brethren then swarmed. The directing power was vested in three persons; the chief, with the title of Koh, *i.e.* the Elder; the two others took that of Hiong Thi, *i.e.* Younger Brothers. In the Malacca branches the three chiefs were called Tai-Koh, eldest brother, Ji-Koh, second brother, and San-Koh, third brother. The oath of secrecy was taken by the aspirant kneeling before an image, under two sharp swords. Whilst the oath was being administered the Hiong Thi had also to kneel, the one on the right, the other on the left of the aspirant, and hold over his head the swords in such a fashion as to form a triangle. The oath contained thirty-six articles, of which the following was the most important:—"I swear that I shall know neither father nor mother, nor brother nor sister, nor wife nor child, but the brotherhood alone; where the brotherhood leads or pursues, there I shall follow or pursue; its foe shall be my foe." The aspirant, with a knife, then made an incision into his finger, and allowed three drops of blood to fall into a cup of arrack; the three officials did the same thing, and then drank the liquor. In order further to ratify the oath, the newly-sworn member cut off the head of a white cock, which was to intimate that if he proved untrue, his head should be cut off.

514. *More recent Societies.*—In 1850 Tae-ping-wang, the noted revolutionary leader, made a fresh attempt to restore the Ming dynasty, from whom he pretended to be descended. With his defeat and death the League again subsided into obscurity. In the spring of 1863 a quantity of books were accidentally found by the police in the house of a Chinaman, suspected of theft, at Padang (Sumatra), containing the laws, statutes, oaths, mysteries of initiation, catechism, description of flags, symbols, and secret signs of the League, all of which were published in English in a 4to volume at Batavia in 1866. But this discovery showed the League to

be still in existence, and about the year 1870 it started into activity again; in Sarawak it assumed such a threatening aspect that the Government made a law decreeing death to every member *ipso facto*. The disturbances at Singapore in 1872 also were due to the secret societies of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements. On that occasion the Sam-Sings, or "fighting men," were the chief rioters, taking the part of the street hawkers, against whom some severe regulations had been issued. Murder and incendiarism, torturing and maiming, are the usual practices of the League, which again made itself very obnoxious in 1883 and 1885. The section of the "Black Flag," the remnant of the Taepings, as also the "White Lily," were the most active in their demonstrations against the Tsing dynasty. The last police reports from the protected state of Perak, in the Malay Peninsula, say that in 1888 secret societies "caused endless trouble and anxiety," although in 1887 four members of the Ghee Hin Association were sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for conducting an agency for their society. Half the Chinese in Perak are members of secret societies, tickets being found upon them whenever the police have occasion to search them.

The *Straits Times* of the 17th September 1889 contained full particulars of the trial of a number of prisoners who were proved to be members of the Ghee Hin or Sam Tian secret society at Sarawak. The six leaders were shot; eleven, being active members, carrying out orders of the leaders, beating, frightening, or murdering non-members, were sentenced to receive six dozen strokes with a rattan, to have their heads shaved, to be imprisoned during the Rajah's pleasure; seven others, against whom no specific charges were made out, were dismissed on swearing to have no further dealings with the society.

Towards the end of the year 1895 a number of Mohammedans rose against the Chinese Government and captured the capital of the province of Kansu; the secret societies in Central China joined the Mohammedan insurgents. Their success, however, was of short duration; in the month of December of the same year the insurrection was crushed, and some fifteen of the leaders were captured and beheaded. Others made their escape. Among these was Sun Yet Sun, or, as he is also called, Sun Wen, a medical man, well known in Hong-Kong. His being made a prisoner in the house of the Chinese Ambassador in London in the month of October 1896, until, at the instance of Lord Salisbury, he was re-

leased, is no doubt fresh in the memory of the reader. He asserted that he was kidnapped by the Chinese Ambassador's people, by being induced to walk into the Ambassador's house; but it is a curious circumstance that San Wen, who evidently knew something of London, should not have known where the Chinese Embassy was located, especially after all the excitement caused by Li Hung Chang's visit to the Continent and to England.

In justice to the Taepings and other secret associations in China, it must be stated that the insurrection was and is the war of an oppressed nationality against foreign invaders. The Mantchoos or Tsing dynasty are an alien tribe, ruling over the vast Chinese empire; their government is one of the most despotic the world has ever seen; their laws are so ruthless and unjust, that it would seem they could never be carried out, did not the blood of millions, perishing by every kind of frightful death that the most diabolical cruelty could invent, attest the fact of their being obeyed. Yet British ministers did sanction the enlistment of British officers—Bible Gordon being their leader, what a satire!—and men in the service of the Mantchoos, whom they further supplied with arms and artillery.

515. *Lodges.*—From the book published at Batavia, and mentioned above, we extract the following information:—

The lodge is built in a square, surrounded by walls, which are pierced at the four cardinal points by as many gates; the faces are adorned by triangles, the mystic symbol of union. Within the enclosure is the hall of fidelity and loyalty, where the oaths of membership are taken. Here also stand the altar, and the precious nine-storied pagoda, in which the images of the five monkish founders are enshrined. The lodges, of course, only appear in out-of-the-way places, where they are safe from the observation of the Mandarins; in towns and populous neighbourhoods the lodge is dispensed with; the meetings are held at the house of the president. The instruments of the lodge are numerous. First in importance is the diploma; then there are numerous flags; there is the "bushel," which contains among other articles the "red staff," with which justice is done to offenders against the laws of the society; the scissors, with which the hair of the neophytes is cut off; a jade foot measure, a balance, an abacus, &c.

516. *Government.*—The supreme government is vested in the grand masters of the five principal lodges, and the affairs of each lodge are administered by a president, a vice-president,

one master, two introducers, one fiscal, thirteen councillors, several agents, who are otherwise known as "grass shoes," "iron planks," or "night brethren," and some minor officials, who, as indicative of their rank, wear flowers in their hair.

In times of peace the ranks of the society are filled up by volunteers, but when the League is preparing to take the field, threats and violence are used to secure members. The neophyte, as in Royal Arch Masonry, is introduced to the Hall of Fidelity under the "bridge of swords," formed by the brethren holding up their swords in the form of an arch; he then takes the oath, and has his queue cut off, though this ceremony is dispensed with if he lives amongst Chinese who are faithful to the Tartar rule; his face is washed, and he exchanges his clothes for a long white dress, as a token of purity, and the commencement of a new life. Straw shoes, signs of mourning, are put on his feet. He is then led up to the altar, and offers up nine blades of grass and an incense stick, while an appropriate stanza is repeated between each offering. A red candle is then lighted, and the brethren worship heaven and earth by pledging three cups of wine. This done, the seven-starred lamp, the precious imperial lamp, and the Hung lamp are lighted, and prayer is made to the gods, beseeching them to protect the members. The oath is then read, and each member draws some blood from the middle finger, and drops it into a cup partly filled with wine. Each neophyte having drunk of the mixture, strikes off the head of a white cock, as a sign that so all unfaithful brothers shall perish. Then each new brother receives his diploma, a book containing the oath, law, and secret signs, a pair of daggers, and three Hung medals. The secret signs are numerous, and by means of them a brother can make himself known by the way in which he enters a house, puts down his umbrella, arranges his shoes, holds his hat, takes a cup of tea, and performs a number of other actions.

Henry Pottinger, in a despatch to Lord Aberdeen (1843), perhaps alludes to a secret society, saying: "The song being finished, Ke-Ying, the Chinese commissioner, having taken from his arm a gold bracelet, gave it to me, informing me, at the same time, that he had received it in his tender youth from his father, and that it contained a mysterious legend, and that, by merely showing it, it would in all parts of China assure me a fraternal reception."

517. *Seal of the Hung League.*—Every member of the Hung League is provided with a copy of its seal, which is

printed in coloured characters on silk or calico. The original is kept in the custody of the Tai-Koh. Various descriptions of it have been given, and as they differ, it may be presumed that there are more seals than one. But all of them are pentagonal, and inscribed with a multitude of Chinese characters, the translations given showing no real meaning; the whole is a riddle, which it is scarcely worth while attempting to solve. To give but one sample. In an octagonal space enclosed within the pentagon there are sixteen characters, which, according to the interpreters, signify: "The eldest brother unites to battle-order; every one prepares himself (at the) signal (of the) chief. (The) swollen mountain stream spreads itself (into) canals; ten thousand of years is (he) this day." By many members it is worn as a charm, and great care is taken to conceal its meaning from the uninitiated. As a charm, the seal may be as effective against wounds or death in battle as were the amulets furnished in the fifteenth century by the hangman of Passau, until a soldier had the curiosity to open one, and read, "Coward, defend thyself!"

518. *The Ko lao Hui.*—The secret society which at the present day seems most powerful in China, is that known by the above name. It was at first a purely military association, whose object was mutual protection against the plunder and extortion practised by the civil officials in dealing with the pay and maintenance of the troops. It is believed that the initiation consists in killing a cock and drinking the blood, either by itself, or mixed with wine. It is also believed to use a planchette, whose movements are attributed to occult influence; gradually persons not connected with the army were admitted; the ticket of membership is a small oblong piece of linen or calico, stamped with a few Chinese characters. The possession of one of these, if discovered, entails immediate execution by the authorities.

The society is anti-foreign and anti-missionary, and is believed to be at the bottom of all the riots against foreigners, and especially against foreign missionaries, which have lately occurred in China. Of course, as long as missionaries, instead of making it their business to convert the heathens at home, will go among people who don't want them, and in China will establish themselves outside Treaty limits, they ought to be prepared to take the risks they voluntarily incur, but whenever attacked, they make the Chinese Government pay them liberally for any inconvenience or loss they may have suffered —of course, with the assistance of English gun-boats. In 1891

the Ko lao Hui, which is also anti-dynastic, caused inflammatory placards to be posted up in various parts of the empire, which the authorities immediately tore down, only to be posted up afresh; the society also distributed anti-missionary pamphlets, with titles such as this: "The Devil Doctriners ought to be killed," wherein the missionaries are charged with every kind of crime against morals and life; the Roman Catholics are more severely handled than the Protestants.

In September 1891 it would appear that the society was organising a rising against the Government, and a Mr. C. W. Mason, a British subject, and a fourth-class assistant in the Customs at Shanghai, was implicated in the project, he having been instrumental in introducing arms and dynamite into the country for the use of the conspirators. He was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour, and he was further, at the expiration of that period, to find two sureties of $2500 to be of good behaviour, and failing in this he was to be deported from China. This latter happening on his release, he was sent out of the country in September 1892.

In November 1891 a famous Ko lao Hui leader named Chen-kin-Lung fell into the hands of the Chinese Government. He had been staying at an inn with about thirty of his followers. Gagged and bound, he was taken on board a steam-launch kept ready to start, and carried to Shanghai. His examination was conducted with the greatest secrecy by the magistrate and deputies of the Viceroy and the Governor. On his person were found several official documents issued by the Ko lao Hui, and a short dagger with a poisoned blade. He was addressed in the despatches as the "Eighth Great Prince," and was evidently the commander of a strong force. Three examinations were held, but Chen preserved the strictest silence. Torture was employed, but in vain; the only words that could be extracted from him were, "Spare yourselves the trouble and me the pain; be convinced that there are men ready to sacrifice their lives for the good of a cause which will bring happiness to this country for thousands of generations to come." Then more gentle means were employed, but with what result is not known. The Hui League has various offshoots, which being known to be in reality mutual aid societies, are secret societies in name only, and therefore attract but little attention from the Government. One of the largest of these offshoots is the "Golden Lily Hui," which flourishes

in the western provinces of China. Its members are divided into four sections, respectively marshalled under the white, the black, the red, and the yellow flag.

That the popular feeling against Christian missionaries in China is very strong cannot be denied, and for the last two or three years has displayed itself in frequent attacks on their persons and property. Even at the present time such outbreaks are almost regularly reported in the European press. A pretty plain intimation was given to Sir Rutherford Alcock on his bidding adieu to a high Chinese official. "I wish," said that functionary, "now you are going home, you would take away with you your opium, and your Christian missionaries."

A law passed in 1889 in the Straits Settlements for the suppression of Chinese secret societies, according to a report issued in 1892 by the Protector of Chinese in those settlements, has led to the disappearance of those dangerous organisations. But it is admitted that it will take many years for the Triad element to become extinct; the action of the Hung League is merely suspended, and out of it have sprung many minor societies, as offshoots from the parent society, who send gangs of roughs to brothels, coolie-depots, music halls and shops, demanding monthly contributions, under threat of coming in force and interrupting the business of the establishment. The fighting men of these societies are kept in the lodges by the head men on the proceeds of the exactions thus levied. The expulsion of the head men, as the speediest remedy of these evils, has been tried, with as yet only partial success.

II

THE COMUNEROS

519. *Introductory Remarks.*—The downfall of Napoleon, by a pleasant fiction, invented by historians who write history philosophically, that is, chisel and mould history to fit systems drawn from their inner consciousness, is said to have made Europe free. True, the battle of Waterloo and the Congress of Vienna restored the kings to their thrones, but to say that Europe was thereby made free is false. Instead of one mighty eagle hovering over Europe, the limbs of that ancient Virgin were now torn to pieces by a flock of harpies; instead of one mighty ruler, a host of petty tyrants returned to revel in the delights of a *terreur blanche.* Religious despotism, by the restoration of the pope, was to be the fit prelude to the political tyranny which followed the "Restoration." But the Napoleonic meteor, in its flight across Europe, had shed some of its light into the dense brains even of the most slavishly loyal German peasant, accustomed to look up to the kingly, princely, or grand-ducal drill-sergeant as his heaven-appointed *Landesvater,* so that he began to doubt the ruler's divine mission. Hence secret societies in every country whose king had been restored by the Congress of Vienna—in Spain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria. Some of those secret societies had been fostered by the princes themselves, as long as their own restoration was the object aimed at; but when the societies and the nations they represented demanded that this restoration should involve constitutional privileges and the rights of free citizens, the "restored" kings turned against their benefactors, and conspired to suppress them. But such is the gratitude of kings. However, turn we to the secret societies formed to undo the evils wrought by Waterloo. I begin with Spain.

520. *Earliest Secret Societies in Spain.*—Even before the French Revolution there existed in Spain secret societies, some averse to monarchical government, others in favour

of clerocracy. Among the latter may be mentioned the "Concepcionistas," or "Defenders of the Immaculate Conception" (523), who carried their zeal for Ferdinand VII. and their tenderness for the Church to such a degree as to desire the return of the blessed times of the Holy Inquisition. They also sought to get hold of the management of public affairs, to turn them to their own profit; and the dismal administration of the Bourbons shows that they partly succeeded. Probably from this association arose that of the "Defenders of the Faith," Jesuits in disguise, who in 1820 spread themselves over Spain, taking care of the throne and altar, and still more of themselves. During the reign of Ferdinand VII. also arose the "Realists," who, to benefit themselves, encouraged the king in his reactionary policy.

521. *Freemasonry in Spain, the Forerunner of the Comuneros.*—After the French invasion of 1809, Freemasonry was openly restored in the Peninsula, and a Grand Orient established at Madrid; but it confined itself to works of popular education and charity, entirely eschewing politics. The fall of Joseph and the Restoration again put an end to these well-meant efforts. In 1816, some of the officers and soldiers, returned from French prisons, joined and formed independent lodges, establishing a Grand Orient at Madrid, very secret, and in correspondence with the few French lodges that meddled with politics. Among the latter is remembered the lodge of the "Sectaries of Zoroaster," which initiated several Spanish officers residing in Paris, among others Captain Quezada, who afterwards favoured the escape of the patriot Mina. The revolution of the island of Leon was the work of restored Spanish Masonry, which had long prepared for it under the direction of Quiroga, Riego, and five members of the Cortes.

522. *The Comuneros.*—After the brief victory, badly-concealed jealousies broke forth; many of the brethren seceded and formed in 1821 a new society, the "Confederation of the Communists" (*Comuneros*), which name was derived from that memorable epoch of Spanish history when Charles V. attempted to destroy the ancient liberties, and thus provoked the revolution of the Commons in 1520, which was headed by John Padilla, and afterwards by his heroic wife, Maria Pacheco. In the battle of Villalar the Comuneros were defeated and scattered, and the revolution was doomed. The new Comuneros, reviving these memories, declared their intentions, which could not but be agreeable to Young Spain; nearly

sixty thousand members joined the society: women could be initiated, who had their own lodges or *torres*, or towers, as their meetings were called, and which were presided over by a "Grand Castellan." The scope of the society was to promote by all means in its power the freedom of mankind; to defend in every way the rights of the Spanish people against the abuses and encroachments of royal and priestly power; and to succour the needy, especially those belonging to the society. Some of the more advanced of the Comuneros were for beheading the king, or exiling him to the Havannah, on the principle that to put a house, whether domestic or national, in order, it was first necessary to get rid of all greedy hangers-on and parasites, and the Spanish throne and the royal family of Spain with them came under the above designations. But the nation thought otherwise. On being initiated the candidate was first led into the "hall of arms," where he was told of the obligations and duties he was about to undertake. His eyes having been bandaged he was conducted to another room, where, after he had declared that he wished to be admitted into the confederation, a member acting as sentinel exclaimed: "Let him advance, I will escort him to the guard-house of the castle." Then there was imitated with great noise the lowering of a drawbridge, and the raising of a portcullis; the candidate was then led into the guard-room, unbandaged, and left alone. The walls were covered with arms and trophies, and with patriotic and martial inscriptions. Being at last admitted into the presence of the governor, the candidate was thus addressed: "You stand now under the shield of our chief Padilla; repeat with all the fervour you are capable of the oath I am about to dictate to you." By this oath, the candidate bound himself to fight for constitutional liberty, and to avenge every wrong done to his country. The new knight then covered himself with the shield of Padilla, the knights present pointed their swords at it, and the governor continued: "The shield of our chief Padilla will cover you from every danger, will save your life and honour; but if you violate your oath this shield shall be removed, and these swords buried in your breast." Both the Masons and Comuneros sought to gain possession of superior political influence. The former, having more experience, prevailed in the elections and formed the ministry. Hence a contest that agitated the country and injured the cause of liberty. In 1832, the Comuneros endeavoured to overthrow the Freemasons, but unsuccessfully. Still Masons

and Comuneros combined to oppose the reactionary party. They also succeeded in suppressing Carbonarism, which had been introduced into Spain by some refugee Italians. These societies, in fact, though professing patriotic views, were nothing but egotistical cliques, bent on their own aggrandisement. How little they were guided by fixed principles is shown by their conduct in Spanish America. In Brazil they placed on the throne Don Pedro, and in Mexico they established a republican form of government, just as it best suited their own private interests. But such is the practice of most patriots.

523. *Clerical Societies.*—But the royal party also formed secret societies. Among these we have mentioned the "Concepcionistas," or "Defenders of the Immaculate Conception," founded in 1823 (see 520 *ante*), with the sanction, if not at the instigation, of Ferdinand VII. This was followed in 1825 by the "Defenders of the Faith," also previously referred to, and in 1827 by a third, known as the "Destroying Angels." The existence of the last is denied by clerical writers, but that it did exist, and that the Minister Calomarde was its chief, are facts proved beyond dispute. The doings of these clerical secret societies covered the king, a despicable character in every way, with disgrace, and involved the country in constant internecine war and ruin, which are matters belonging to history. But as specially concerning the secret societies of Spain, it should be mentioned that at that period they were split up into four distinct parties: (1) the Aristocratic, who received great support from England; its objects were the restoration of the constitution, and a change of dynasty. (2) The Mineros, whose head was General Mina. They were chiefly military men, closely allied with the Aristocrats, and largely subsidised by England. The American Government, with a view to the conquest of Mexico, also favoured them. Opposed to them were (3) the Republicans, whose designation indicates their object. (4) The Comuneros, who, though also desiring a republican form of government in Spain, opposed the plans of the third party.

III

THE HETAIRIA

524. *Origin.*—The secret society which bore the above Greek name, signifying the "Union of Friends," is, like Carbonarism, one of the few secret associations which attained its objects, because it had a whole people to back it up; a support which the Nihilists, for instance, lack as yet, and hence the present non-success of the latter. The origin of the Hetairia may be traced back to the Greek poet Constantinos Rhigas, who lived in the later half of the last century, and who plotted a Greek insurrection against Turkey, but was by the Austrian Government, in whose territory he was then travelling, basely delivered up to the Porte, and executed at Belgrade in 1798. But the Hetairia he had founded was not destroyed by his death; its principles survived, and a new Hetairia was founded in 1812, on lines somewhat different, however, from those of the old society.

525. *The Hetairia of* 1812.—In 1812 a society was formed at Athens, which called itself the "Hetairia Philomuse." Since Lord Elgin had carried off whole cargoes of antiques, the need was felt of protecting the Greek treasures of antiquity. The object of the Philomuse, therefore, was to preserve relics of ancient art, to found museums, libraries, and schools. At the same time the members hoped by peaceful means to improve the social and political condition of Greece. They were conservative enough to place their hopes on princes and the Congress of Vienna. Count Capo d'Istria, the private secretary of the Czar, who possessed in the highest degree the confidence of his master, did his best to gain the goodwill of the Congress. The princes and diplomatists, composing it, had then drained the cup of pleasure to the dregs, and it seemed to them a pleasing variation to surround themselves, amidst fêtes, balls, and amateur theatricals, with the halo of ancient Hellenistic interests. Ministers, princes, kings, were ready to wear the

golden or iron ring, on which the ancient Attic obolus was engraved, the countersign of the Philomuse. The Emperor Alexander, the Crown Princes of Bavaria and Würtemberg, joined the society and subscribed to its funds. But these were not the men or the means to deliver Greece from the Turkish yoke, which had been the object of Rhigas, and of those who thought like him.

526. *The Hetairia of* 1814.—Hence in 1814 a new Hetairia was founded with purely political objects. It was called the "Hetairia" or "Society of Friends" only, and stood to the Philomuse in the same relation the sword stands to the pen. It was founded at Odessa, where Greek and Russian interests always met, by a little-known merchant, Ikufas, of Arta, and two other obscure men of honour, Athanasius Tsakaloff and the Freemason, E. Xanthos, of Patmos. These men determined to achieve what Europe refused to do—to raise the Cross above the Crescent; and in the course of years they succeeded. The fate of Rhigas taught them secrecy. Tsakaloff, who had years before formed a secret league of Greek youths settled in Paris, had some experience as to external forms, and so had Xanthos as a Freemason. The number of grades of their Hetairia was seven—Brethren, Apprentices, Priests of Eleusis, Shepherds, Prelates, Initiated, and Supreme Initiated. The latter two grades were invested with a military character, and directly intended for war. The candidates for initiation had to kneel down, at night, in an oratory, and to swear before a painting of the Resurrection, fidelity, constancy, secrecy, and absolute obedience. Little, however, was imparted on admission to a higher degree, the object being mainly to render the initiation more impressive. The brother was told to have his arms ready, and fifty cartridges in his cartridge-box; the Priest, that the object of the Hetairia was the deliverance of Greece: but like all secret societies, this one did not remain untainted from egotism, falsehood, and humbug in general. As the priests were allowed to introduce neophytes, who had to pay them certain amounts of money, the office of priest was much sought after; but it must have appeared strange to many of the candidates, that whilst the priest bade them swear on the Gospel, he at the same time informed them that he initiated them on the strength of the power conferred on him by the High-Priest of Eleusis. The leaders, further, did not hesitate to boast of a secret understanding with the Court of St. Petersburg, yea, it was intimated that Alexander was the Grand Arch. The Hetairists have been blamed for all this; but it cannot

be expected that a revolutionary military league should in all points be faultless, and keep within the rules of civic honesty. Legal means were of no avail; cunning and deceit are the weapons of the oppressed. Politicians have to accommodate themselves to the fancies and prejudices of men.

527. *Signs and Passwords.*—Some of the signs and passwords were common to all the degrees, but others were known to the higher grades only, each of which had its peculiar mysteries. The Brethren saluted by placing the right hand on their friend's breast, and uttering the Albanian word *sipsi* (pipe), to which the other, if initiated, responded with *sarroukia* (sandals). The Apprentices pronounced the syllable *Lon*, and the person addressed, if in the secret, completed the word by uttering the syllable *don*. In the higher grades the formulas were more complex. The mystical words of the Priests were, "How are you?" and "As well as you are;" and again, "How many have you?" and "As many as you have." If the person accosted had reached the third degree, he understood the mystical sense of the question, and replied, "Sixteen." To be sure of his man the questioner then asked, "Have you no more?" to which his equally cautious friend replied, "Tell me the first, and I will tell you the second." The first then pronounced the first syllable of a Turkish word meaning *justice*, and the other completed it by uttering the second syllable. The sign of recognition was given by a particular touch of the right hand, and making the joints of the fingers crack, afterwards folding the arms and wiping the eyes. The Prelates pressed the wrist, in shaking hands, with the index finger, reclined the head on the left hand, and pressed the right on the region of the heart. The Prelate addressed responded by rubbing the forehead. If in doubt, the mystical phrases of the Priests of Eleusis were repeated, and if the answers were correctly given, the two repeated alternately the syllables of the mysterious word *va-an-va-da*.

528. *Short Career of Galatis.*—The sect consisted at first of but few members. In 1819 the Directory or Grand Arch was composed of the three founders only and four other persons: Galatis, Komizopulos, A. Sekeris, and A. Gazis, with whom afterwards were joined Leventis, Dikäos, Ignatios, and Mavrocordato, and finally, Patsimadis and Alexander Ipsilanti. Galatis early betrayed, and almost ruined, the cause of the Hetairia. Exceedingly vain of his admission to the Grand Arch, he went to St. Petersburg, where he

proclaimed himself as the ambassador of the Hellenes, in consequence of which the police arrested him, and an examination of his papers revealed the whole secret of the Hetairia. The Czar, vacillating between his philo-Hellenism and the fear of revolution, was persuaded by Capo d'Istria to set Galatis free, and even to award him compensation in money for his imprisonment. Later on, when Skufas conceived the bold idea of attacking the enemy in his very capital, and had therefore settled at Constantinople, Galatis excited the suspicion of thinking more of his own advantage than of that of his country; he was always asking for money, and when this was refused him, he uttered threats, whilst alluding to his intimacy with Halet Effendi, the Minister and favourite of Mahmoud. Thereupon the Hetairia decided that he must be removed. Towards the end of 1818 he was ordered on a journey; a few trusted Hetairists were his companions. One day, while he was resting near Hermione, under a tree, a Hetairist suddenly discharged his pistol at him. With the cry, "What have I done to you?" he expired. The murderers, with a strange mingling of ferocity and sentimentality, cut these last words of his into the bark of the tree.

529. *Proceedings of the Grand Arch.*—Skufas had died some months before, but thanks to the stupidity of the Turkish Government, Constantinople remained the seat of the league. The Grand Arch met at Xantho's house and instituted a systematic propaganda. In all the provinces of Turkey and adjoining states "Ephori" superintendents were appointed, who each had his own treasury, and authority to act in his district for the best of the common cause; only in very important cases he was to refer to the Grand Arch. Gazis undertook preparing the mainland; Greek soldiers, who had just then returned from Russia, were sent to the Morea and the island of Hydra. But it was essential to gain possession of the most important military point in the Morea, of Mani, usually called Maina, and by means of the patriarch Gregor, who was initiated into the secret of the Hetairia, Petros Mavromichalis, the powerful governor of Maina, was seduced from his allegiance. The emissaries of the Hetairia knew how to reconcile tribes who had for centuries been at feud, and to gain them for their cause, so that in 1820 the Hetairia had secret adherents all over the Peloponnesus, on the Cyclades, Sporades, on the coasts of Asia Minor, the Ionian Islands, and even in Jerusalem. It was now felt to be necessary to appoint a supreme head; the choice lay

between Capo d'Istria and Alexander Ipsilanti. The former was a diplomatist, the latter a soldier. Capo d'Istria declined to mix himself up in the matter, at least openly, because his master, the Emperor Alexander, was unwilling to appear as the protector of the Hetairia. Ipsilanti undertook its direction; and as soon as it was known that he had done so, the hopes of the conspirators of the eventual support of Russia rose to fever-heat, and Ipsilanti in 1820 found it advisable to leave St. Petersburg and go to Odessa, to be more in the centre of the movement. But though a soldier, he was no general, and allowed himself to be carried away by the enthusiasm he saw around him. Though contributions in cash came in so slowly that he had to make private loans, he lost none of his confidence. In July he appointed Georgakis commander of the "army of the Danube," and Perrhävos chief of the "army of Epirotes." He himself intended to enter the Peloponnesus, and to set up at Maina the standard of independence, fancying that the Peloponnesus was a fortified camp, outnumbering in soldiers the Turkish contingents. But he was soon convinced of this error, and he was advised to make his first attempt against the Turkish power in the Danubian principalities; and though other counsellors rejected this proposal, Ipsilanti decided to adopt it, guided by the fact that the treaties between Russia and the Porte forbade the entry of an army into the Principalities, unless with the consent of both parties. Should the Porte, in consequence of the Hetairist rising, send troops to Bucharest, Russia would be bound to support the Greeks.

530. *Ipsilanti's Proceedings.* — Further hesitation became impossible. A certain Asimakis, a member of the Hetairia, in conjunction with the brother of the murdered Galatis, betrayed to the Turkish police all the details of the conspiracy. Kamarinos, who had been to St. Petersburg, on his return publicly revealed the futility of Russian promises; to silence him the Hetairists had him assassinated. They also endeavoured to take advantage of the quarrel which had broken out between Ali Pasha and the Sultan, whose best troops were then occupied in besieging Janina, Ali Pasha's capital. Ali, being sorely pressed by the Turks, promised the Hetairia his help, their cause being his—the overthrow of the Sultan. The Suliotes, also, his ancient enemies, were won over by him, partly in consequence of the bad treatment they received from the Turks, whose side they had at first adopted, and partly because their leaders were initiated

into the secret of the Hetairia, in whose success they saw the recovery of their ancient territory, from which Ali had expelled them. In March 1821, Ipsilanti took up his residence at Jassy, whence he issued pompous proclamations to the Greeks, Moldavians, and Wallachians, and also sent a manifesto to the princes and diplomatists, who were then assembled for the settlement of the Neapolitan revolution, inviting Europe, but especially Russia, to favour the cause of Greek independence. But the result of the latter step was fatal to it. Metternich's policy was totally opposed to it; and the Emperor Alexander, who had just proclaimed his anti-revolutionary views, as applied to the Italian rising, could not repudiate them when dealing with the Greek question. Knowing nothing of the share his favourite, Capo d'Istria had in it, and of the underhand promises of Russian help the latter had made to the Hetairia, he assured the Emperor Francis, Metternich, and Bernstorff, of his adherence to the Holy Alliance, and his opposition to any revolution, with such zeal and mystical unction, that his listeners were "deeply moved." Ipsilanti's action was utterly reproved; his name was removed from the Russian Army List; the Russian troops on the Pruth were instructed under no pretence to take any part in the disturbances in the Principalities; and the Porte was informed that the Russian Government was a total stranger to them. Capo d'Istria was compelled to write to his friend, whom he had secretely encouraged, that "he must expect no support, either moral or material, from Russia, which could be no party to the secret undermining of the Turkish Empire by means of secret societies."

531. *Ipsilanti's Blunders.*—Ipsilanti, since his arrival at Jassy, had taken none of the steps which might have insured the success of his enterprise. He did nothing towards centralising the Government, or concentrating his troops. He seemed satisfied with looking upon the Principalities as a Russian depôt, and to be waiting for the hand of the Czar to raise him on the Greek throne. As if the victory were already won, he bestowed civil and military appointments on the swarms of relations and flatterers who surrounded him. Chiefs of a few hundred adventurers were grandly called generals; he placed his brothers on the staffs of his imaginary army corps, whilst he neglected and snubbed men who might have greatly advanced the revolution; he favoured worthless creatures, such as Karavias, who, with a band of Arnaut mercenaries, had surprised and cut down the Turkish

garrison of Galatz, plundered the town, desecrated the churches, and committed every kind of outrage. Ipsilanti shut his eyes when the rabble of Jassy, on hearing of the horrors committed at Galatz, suddenly attacked the Turks peacefully residing in the former town, and murdered them in cold blood. He further committed a great mistake in imprisoning a rich banker on some frivolous pretence, and only releasing him on his paying a ransom of sixty thousand ducats. This act drove a great many wealthy people to take refuge on Russian or Austrian territory, and many others to wish for the restoration of Turkish authority, whose oppression was not quite so ominous as that of the newly-arrived "liberators."

532. *Progress of the Insurrection.*—At last Ipsilanti, with an army of two thousand men, whose numbers were everywhere proclaimed to be ten thousand, left Jassy for Bucharest. At Fokshany, on the borders of the two Principalities, he issued another proclamation to the "Dacians," which was as unsuccessful as the former. On the other hand, his army was here reinforced by the Arnauts of Karavias, and later on by two hundred Greek horsemen, led by Georgakis, one of the most heroic of the Greek patriots. About this time, also, according to the pattern of the Thebans, five hundred youths, belonging to the noblest and richest families, formed themselves into a Sacred Battalion. They were clothed in black, and displayed on their breasts a cross with the words, "In this sign you shall conquer." Their hats were decorated with a skull and cross-bones! Still, this battalion henceforth distinguished itself above all the other troops of Ipsilanti by discipline and valour. But the chief, instead of affording those youths an opportunity of displaying their zeal, damped it by his delays and slow advance. He did not reach Bucharest before the 9th April. Here the higher clergy and the remaining Boyars declared their adhesion to the cause, in the hope that the leaders of irregular troops who had joined Ipsilanti would do the same, and thus subordinate the anarchical elements of the revolution to the general object. But this hope was only partially fulfilled. Georgakis, indeed, placed himself under Ipsilanti's orders, but other leaders, like Savas and Vladimiresko, were far from following this example. It was even said that the former was secretly working towards the restoration of Turkish supremacy.

533. *Ipsilanti's Approaching Fall.*—In this crisis, Ipsilanti's chief occupation was the erection of a theatre and

engaging comedians, whilst he himself was more of a comedian than a general. He daily showed himself in the gorgeous uniform of a Russian general. A numerous staff of officers rushed from morning till night, with aimless activity, through the streets of Bucharest. Wealthy people were visited with arbitrary requisitions; the soldiers of the Hetairia lived, without discipline, at the expense of citizens and peasants; the Sacred Battalion only refrained from these excesses. Under these circumstances arrived the decision from Laybach, and with it the curse of the Church. The Patriarch laid Ipsilanti and the Hetairia under the ban; Sovas and Vladimiresko now openly joined the Rumelian opposition to the Greek cause; the Boyars and the clergy withdrew from it, and from the other classes of the people there had never been any real prospect of support. Ipsilanti endeavoured to weaken the force of the double blow which had befallen him by asserting that the ban of diplomacy and the Church was a mere form behind which the Czar and the Patriarch wished to conceal their secret sympathy with the Hetairia. He asserted that Capo d'Istria had secretly informed him that the Hetairists were not to lay down their arms before having learnt the issue of the proposals made by Russia to the Turks in favour of the Greeks. In the name of the Greek nation he addressed a number of demands to the Czar and his Ambassador at Constantinople, declaring that he would not relinquish the position he had assumed until these demands were complied with. Minds bolder than his advised him to make his way through Bulgaria to Epirus, to relieve Ali Pasha, closely besieged in Janina, and with the latter's help to set Greece free. But Ipsilanti was not made of the stuff to execute so daring a *coup-de-main;* and when Vladimiresko strongly supported the plan, Ipsilanti felt convinced that he and others intended to lead him into a trap by luring him out of the Principalities. He therefore, instead of moving towards the Danube, on the 13th April, with his small army, and scarcely any artillery, turned northwards to the Carpathians, distributing his soldiers in so wide a belt that if the Turks had had any forces ready they might easily have exterminated Ipsilanti's army piecemeal. The revolutionary chief intended, should the Turks seriously threaten him, to take refuge on Austrian territory, hoping, through the intercession of the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, to secure a free passage for himself and his followers. The Russian Government having permitted the advance of Turkish troops into the Princi-

palities to quell the insurrection, Ipsilanti had to be prepared for a speedy encounter. In fact, under the pretence of intending resistance, he ordered intrenchments to be thrown up, and his troops to be exercised in the use of the bayonet, whilst he amused them again with the fable of Russian assistance.

534. *Advance of the Turks.*—In the second week of May the Turks crossed the Danube. The Pasha of Braila undertook the recovery of Galatz, which had been taken by Karavias. The first encounter took place before that town on the 13th May, on which occasion the Hetairists, by their bravery, redeemed many of the mistakes committed by their leaders. About seven hundred of the insurgents held three redoubts on the road to Braila; they had two guns. Their position had been so skilfully chosen by their chief, Athanasius of Karpenisi, that it seemed possible to defend it for a long time against a fivefold number of Turks. But the majority of the defenders consisted of rabble sailors taken from the ships in the harbour, and of the robbers and murderers who, under the leadership of Karavias, had rendered themselves infamous, and now felt little inclination to sacrifice themselves for a foreign cause. As soon as the Turks prepared for the attack, the bulk of them fled, leaving it to Athanasius and the few Greeks to engage in the fight. The unequal conflict lasted till night; the redoubts were bravely held by the small number of Greeks; and when darkness came, and the fighting was suspended, the Greeks practised a trick to make their escape. They hung their cloaks outside the redoubts, and the Turks, taking the cloaks for men, fired at them; at the same time the Greeks had loaded their guns in such a way, as to go off one after another as soon as the garrison should have left the redoubts, by which means the attention of the Turks would be diverted from the fugitives. The *ruse* succeeded; the Greeks escaped, first to a small peninsula at the mouth of the Pruth, and thence to Jassy. The greatest disorder prevailed in that town. Prince Kantakuzeno, to whom Ipsilanti had entrusted its defence, could maintain himself but a few days. In the middle of June, when the Turkish troops advanced against him, he retreated to Bessarabia, advising Athanasius and the other Greeks to do the same. But these pronounced him a despicable coward; they, they said, were determined to defend the Greek cause to the last, and to die honourably or to conquer. With four hundred men and eight guns they resisted, behind a weak barricade of trees, near Skuleni,

for eight days a vastly superior enemy, and by their heroic conduct threw a final halo round the Moldavian insurrection. Athanasius met with the death of a patriot. Nearly a thousand Turks had fallen; three hundred Greeks perished in the fight or in the waters of the Pruth, the remnant took refuge on the opposite bank.

535. *Ipsilanti's Difficulties.*—Moldavia was lost; in the meantime the Pasha of Silistria had entered Bucharest on the 29th May; Ipsilanti, perfectly helpless, was encamped at Tergovist. His troops, even the Sacred Battalion, were thoroughly demoralised; his dissensions with Savas and Vladimiresko continued. The former had readily surrendered Bucharest to the Turks, and had followed Ipsilanti, whom on the first favourable opportunity he intended to take prisoner to give him up to the Turks. Vladimiresko prepared to withdraw to Little Wallachia, there to await the result of his negotiations with the Turks; he had proposed to the Pasha of Silistria to have Ipsilanti and Georgakis assassinated. But his treachery became known to his intended victims; Georgakis suddenly appeared in his camp, took him prisoner in the midst of his officers, and carried him to Tergovist. On being taken before Ipsilanti he protested his innocence, declaring that he had only been trying to draw the Turks into a snare; but Ipsilanti ordered him at once to be shot.

536. *Ipsilanti's Fall.*—Ipsilanti intended to occupy the strategically important village of Dragatschau, but the rapid advance from Bucharest of the Turkish vanguard left him no time to do so. On the 8th June it encountered a Greek division under Anastasius of Argyrokastro; another division, sent for the support of the Greeks from Tergovist, under the command of Dukas, betook themselves to their heels, with their leader at their head, and spread such consternation in the camp at Tergovist, that Ipsilanti's troops, leaving their baggage behind, took to flight. Ipsilanti thereupon with great difficulty made his way to Ribnik, with a view of being near the Austrian frontier, which he intended to cross, if necessary. In spite of the losses he had sustained, he still commanded 7500 men, with four guns. Georgakis considered the opportunity favourable by an attack on Dragatschau, which the Turks had occupied with two thousand men, to raise the sinking courage of his troops. His dispositions were skilfully arranged to surround the enemy, inferior in numbers, and on the 19th June 1821, five thousand insurgents were concentred on the heights surrounding

the village, entirely cutting off the retreat of the Turks. Ipsilanti's corps had not yet arrived. Georgakis sent messenger after messenger to hasten the advance of Ipsilanti, that he might share in the honours of the day. The Turks were aware of their dangerous position. Towards mid-day they attempted a debouch from the village to occupy a height in front of it; but the attempt miscarried, the Greeks would not give way. Thereupon the Turks set fire to the village, in order to effect their retreat under the shelter of the flames. Karavias, whom Ipsilanti had appointed colonel of the cavalry, considered it a favourable moment to gather cheap laurels; he took the burning of the village as a sign of the flight and defeat of the Turks; envious of Georgakis, he designed to rob him of the honour of this easy victory, and in spite of orders to the contrary, to adventure with his five hundred horsemen on storming the village. He persuaded Nicholas Ipsilanti to support the mad attempt with the Sacred Battalion and his artillery, and, heated with wine, without even communicating with his chief, he led his men across the bridge leading to the village. The Turks at first retreated, as, in fact, they had already commenced a retrograde movement, apprehending a general attack. But when they discovered that Karavias and the Sacred Battalion only were coming against them, they wheeled round and first threw the cavalry into disorder; the Sacred Battalion, tender youths having but lately assumed arms, could not resist the hardy veteran Spahis. They fell, "like blooming boughs" under the woodcutter's hatchet. Georgakis arrived in time to recover the standard and two guns and rescue the remainder, about one hundred men, of the Sacred Battalion. About thirty of the Arnauts, and twenty of Georgakis' devoted band, were also slain. By this defeat Ipsilanti's last hope was destroyed. Having taken refuge at Kosia, he negotiated with the Austrian Government for permission to cross the frontier. His safety was in danger from his own people. They talked of handing him over to the Turks and earning the price set on his head. All discipline disappeared. The Hetairists robbed and murdered one another. Among the few men of faith and honour, Georgakis was one of the most prominent. Though he would have preferred Ipsilanti remaining, he assisted his flight. Then he joined his friend Farmakis at Adjile, to continue, faithful to his oath, the struggle for Greece.

537. *Ipsilanti's Manifesto.*—Ipsilanti, true to his system of deceit, continued to spread false reports and letters, stating

that the Emperor Francis had declared war against the Porte, that Austrian troops would occupy the Principalities, and that he was going to have an interview with the Imperial governor. But once on Austrian territory, Ipsilanti, who there called himself Alexander Komorenos, was seized and imprisoned in Fort Arad. There he attempted to justify his forsaking his companions in arms by shifting the want of success off his shoulders on those of others. In a boastful manifesto he said: "Soldiers! But no, I will not disgrace this honourable name by applying it to you. Cowardly hordes of slaves! your treachery, and the plots you have hatched, compel me to leave you. From this moment every bond between you and me is severed; to me remains the disgrace of having commanded you. You have even robbed me of the glory of dying in battle. Run to the Turks; purchase your slavery with your lives, with the honour of your wives and children."

538. *Ipsilanti's Imprisonment and Death.*—Treaties between Austria and Turkey stipulated that fugitives from either side were only to be received on condition of their being rendered harmless. Consequently, Ipsilanti was compelled to declare in writing, and on his honour, that he would make no attempt at flight. He then was, like a common criminal, taken to the fortress of Munkacs, surrounded by marshes, and obliged to take up his residence in a miserable garret. For years he remained in close confinement, and only when his health began to give way was he permitted to take up his residence in a less unhealthy prison at Theresienstadt, a fortified place of Bohemia. In 1827, at the intercession of the Emperor of Russia, he was set free, but died next year, as it was said, of a broken heart. He had lived to see his followers persecuted and slain, his family ruined, and himself unable to assist, when the people of Greece, more successful than the Hetairists of the Principalities, fought for liberty and their fatherland. Romance has thrown its halo around the prisoner of Munkacs, and the Greeks ended in beholding in him the martyr of Greek freedom.

539. *Fate of the Hetairists.*—The insurrection may be considered to have ended with Ipsilanti's flight; the remnant of his followers now fought for honour only. Readily supported by the people—as foolishly as ever supporting their oppressors—the Turks made rapid progress in annihilating the remains of Ipsilanti's army. Such Hetairist leaders as surrendered on good faith were mercilessly executed. The traitor Savas, in spite of the zeal he had shown in the Turkish cause, shared the same fate; he was shot at

Bucharest, together with his officers and soldiers, and their heads were sent to Constantinople.

540. *Georgakis' Death.*—Georgakis and Farmakis, the bravest and truest leaders of the insurgents, remained. They were determined not to entrust their lives either to Austrian protection or Turkish pity, and therefore again made their way into Moldavia. Georgakis, who was ill, had to be carried on a litter. During the long and painful march the number of his followers was reduced to three hundred and fifty. The peasants everywhere betrayed to the Turks in pursuit every one of his movements, and even before reaching the Moldavian frontier he was surrounded on all sides. Moreover, he was imprudent enough to take refuge in a *cul-de-sac*, by fortifying the monastery of Sekko, which, with but one outlet, is situate in a deep gorge. However, on the 17th September, he successfully drove back the first attack of the Turkish vanguard, and his confidence increased. He was, moreover, induced by a treacherous letter of the Greek bishop, Romanos, not to allow the treasures of the monastery to fall into Turkish hands, to prolong his stay. This decision proved fatal to the remnant of the Hetairia. On the 20th September, four thousand Turks, led by Roumanian peasants on hitherto unknown paths, made their appearance in the rear of the monastery, traversing the Greek lines of defence, and cutting off the defenders of the monastery, placed at the entrance of the gorge, from their comrades. Farmakis threw himself into the main building of the monastery, while Georgakis, with eleven companions, took refuge in the bell-tower. The Turks set fire to piles of wood close to it. "I shall die in the flames; fly, if you choose, I open you the door!" the intrepid chief exclaimed; at the same time he threw down the door, flung a firebrand into the powder-stores, and in this way buried the Turks who had forced their way in, and ten of his companions, in the ruins. Only one of the Greeks escaped, as if by a miracle.

541. *Farmakis' Death.*—Farmakis held the monastery for eleven days longer, after which time his ammunition and stores of food were exhausted. On the 4th October he agreed to a favourable capitulation, which the Pasha of Braila and the Austrian Consul (!) guaranteed. The besieged were promised an honourable free marching off with their arms. But in the night, before the conclusion of the treaty, thirty-three of Farmakis' soldiers—two hundred altogether—made their escape, because they did not trust the

Turkish promises. Those who remained had to regret their confidence. On the following day the Turks slaughtered the soldiers; the officers were carried to Silistria, and there executed; Farmakis was sent to Constantinople, where, after having been cruelly racked, he was beheaded.

542. *Final Success of the Hetairia.*—Thus the real Hetairia perished, but its overthrow was not without benefit to the cause; for by the brutalities committed by the Turks who occupied the Principalities, there arose a series of complications between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, which at last led to an open quarrel. Ipsilanti lived to see the issue of the diplomatic fencing in the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war of 1828 and 1829, when the real Greek people, with genuine means, accomplished to the south of the Balkans what he had vainly attempted with artificial ones in the north. But in this the action of the Hetairia, still existing as a remnant, played only a secondary part, and hence we may here fitly conclude the history of this secret society.

IV

THE CARBONARI

543. *History of the Association.*—Like all other associations, the Carbonari, or charcoal-burners, lay claim to a very high antiquity. Some of the less instructed have even professed a descent from Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great, and have attempted to form a high degree, the Knight of Thebes, founded on this imaginary origin. Others go back only so far as the pontificate of Alexander III., when Germany, to secure herself against rapacious barons, founded guilds and societies for mutual protection, and the charcoal-burners in the vast forests of that country united themselves against robbers and enemies. By words and signs only known to themselves, they afforded each other assistance. The criminal enterprise of Kunz de Kauffungen to carry off the Saxon princes, 8th July 1455, failed through the intervention of a charcoal-burner, though his intervention was more accidental than prearranged. And in 1514 the Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg was compelled by them, under threat of death, to abolish certain forest laws, considered as oppressive. Similar societies arose in many mountainous countries, and they surrounded themselves with that mysticism of which we have seen so many examples. Their fidelity to each other and to the society was so great, that it became in Italy a proverbial expression to say, "On the faith of a Carbonaro." At the feasts of the Carbonari, the Grand Master drinks to the health of Francis I., King of France, the pretended founder of the Order, according to the following tradition:—During the troubles in Scotland in Queen Isabella's time—this Isabella is purely mythical—many illustrious persons, having escaped from the yoke of tyranny, took refuge in the woods. In order to avoid all suspicion of criminal association, they employed themselves in cutting wood and making charcoal. Under pretence of carrying it for sale, they introduced themselves into the villages, and bearing the name of real Carbonari, they easily

met their partisans, and mutually communicated their different plans. They recognised each other by signs, by touch, and by words, and as there were no habitations in the forest, they constructed huts of an oblong form, with branches of trees. Their lodges (*vendite*) were subdivided into a number of baracche, each erected by a Good Cousin of some distinction. There dwelt in the forest a hermit of the name of Theobald; he joined them, and favoured their enterprise. He was proclaimed protector of the Carbonari. Now it happened that Francis I., King of France, hunting on the frontiers of his kingdom next to Scotland (*sic*), or following a wild beast, was parted from his courtiers. He lost himself in the forest, but stumbling on one of the baracche, he was hospitably entertained, and eventually made acquainted with their secret and initiated into the Order. On his return to France he declared himself its protector. The origin of this story is probably to be found in the protection granted by Louis XII. and continued by Francis I. to the Waldenses, who had taken refuge in Dauphiné. But neither the Hewers nor the Carbonari ever rose to any importance, or acted any conspicuous part among the secret societies of Europe till the period of the Revolution. As to their influence in and after that event, we shall return to it anon.

The Theobald alluded to in the foregoing tradition, is said to have been descended from the first Counts of Brie and Champagne. Possessed of rank and wealth, his fondness for solitude led him to leave his father's house, and retire with his friend Gautier to a forest in Suabia, where they lived as hermits, working at any chance occupation by which they could maintain themselves, but chiefly by preparing charcoal for the forges. They afterwards made several pilgrimages to holy shrines, and finally settled near Vicenza, where Gautier died. Theobald died in 1066, and was canonised by Pope Alexander III. From his occupation, St. Theobald was adopted as the patron saint of the Carbonari, and is invoked by the Good Cousins in their hymns; and a picture, representing him seated in front of his hut, is usually hung up in the lodge.

544. *Real Origin of the Carboneria.*—The first traces of a league of charcoal-burners with political objects appear in the twelfth century, probably caused by the severe forest laws then in existence. About that period also the *Fendeurs* (hewers), large corporations with rites similar to those of the Carbonari, existed in the French department of the Jura, where the association was called *le bon cousinage* (the good

cousinship), which title was also assumed by the Carbonari. Powerful lords, members of the persecuted Order of the Temple, seeing the important services men scattered over so large an extent of country could render, entered into secret treaties with them. It further appears that the *Fendeurs* formed the first and the *Carbonari* the second, or higher, degree of the society collectively called the *Carboneria.* It is also probable that before the French Revolution the then French Government attempted by means of the society, which then existed at Genoa under the name of the Royal Carboneria, to overthrow the ancient oligarchical government and annex Genoa to France. It is certain that from 1770 to 1790 most of the members of the French chambers belonged to the Order of the *Fendeurs,* which continued to exist even under Napoleon I. The Carboneria was introduced into Southern Italy by returning Neapolitan exiles, who had been initiated in Germany and Switzerland, and as early as 1807 Salicetti, the Neapolitan minister of police, spoke of a conspiracy instigated by the Carbonari against the French army in the Neapolitan states. But the society was as yet powerless; when, however, the Austrian war broke out in 1809, and French troops had largely to be withdrawn from Italy, the first and head Vendita was formed at Capua, its rules and ordinances being written in English, because the English Government desired to employ the society as a lever for the overthrow of Napoleon. Before, however, proceeding with the history of the Order, we will give particulars of their ritual and ceremonies.

545. *The Vendita or Lodge.*—From the "Code of Carbonarism" we derive the following particulars respecting the lodge:—It is a room of wood in the shape of a barn. The pavement must be of brick, in imitation of the mosaic floor of the Masons' lodge, the interior furnished with seats without backs. At the end there must be a block supported by three legs, at which sits the Grand Master; at the two sides there must be two other blocks of the same size, at which sit the orator and secretary respectively. On the block of the Grand Master there must be the following symbols:—a linen cloth, water, salt, a cross, leaves, sticks, fire, earth, a crown of white thorns, a ladder, a ball of thread, and three ribbons, one blue, one red, and one black. There must be an illuminated triangle, with the initial letters of the password of the second rank in the middle. On the left hand there must be a triangle, with the arms of the Vendita painted. On the right three transparent triangles, each with the initial letters

of the sacred words of the first rank. The Grand Master, and first and second assistants, who also sit each before a large wooden block, hold hatchets in their hands. The masters sit along the wall of one side of the lodge, the apprentices opposite.

546. *Ritual of Initiation.*—The ritual of Carbonarism, as it was reconstituted at the beginning of the present century, was as follows. In the initiation:—

"The Grand Master having opened the lodge, says, First Assistant, where is the first degree conferred?

A. In the hut of a Good Cousin, in the lodge of the Carbonari.

G. M. How is the first degree conferred?

A. A cloth is stretched over a block of wood, on which are arranged the bases, firstly, the cloth itself, water, fire, salt, the crucifix, a dry sprig, a green sprig. At least three Good Cousins must be present for an initiation; the introducer, always accompanied by a master, remains outside the place where are the bases and the Good Cousins. The master who accompanies the introducer strikes three times with his foot and cries: 'Masters, Good Cousins, I need succour.' The Good Cousins stand around the block of wood, against which they strike the cords they wear round the waist and make the sign, carrying the right hand from the left shoulder to the right side, and one of them exclaims, 'I have heard the voice of a Good Cousin who needs help, perhaps he brings wood to feed the furnaces.' The introducer is then brought in. Here the Assistant is silent, and the Grand Master begins again, addressing the new-comer:—

'My Good Cousin, whence come you?

I. From the wood.

G. M. Whither go you?

I. Into the Chamber of Honour, to conquer my passions, submit my will, and be instructed in Carbonarism.

G. M. What have you brought from the wood?

I. Wood, leaves, earth.

G. M. Do you bring anything else?

I. Yes; faith, hope, and charity.

G. M. Who is he whom you bring hither?

I. A man lost in the wood.

G. M. What does he seek?

I. To enter our order.

G. M. Introduce him.'

The neophyte is then brought in. The Grand Master puts several questions to him regarding his morals and

religion, and then bids him kneel, holding the crucifix, and pronounce the oath: 'I promise and bind myself on my honour not to reveal the secrets of the Good Cousins; not to attack the virtue of their wives or daughters, and to afford all the help in my power to every Good Cousin needing it. So help me God!"

547. *First Degree.*—After some preliminary questioning, the Grand Master addresses the novice thus: "What means the block of wood?

N. Heaven and the roundness of the earth.

G. M. What means the cloth?

N. That which hides itself on being born.

G. M. The water?

N. That which serves to wash and purify from original sin.

G. M. The fire?

N. To show us our highest duties.

G. M. The salt?

N. That we are Christians.

G. M. The crucifix?

N. It reminds us of our redemption.

G. M. What does the thread commemorate?

N. The Mother of God that spun it.

G. M. What means the crown of white thorns?

N. The troubles and struggles of Good Cousins.

G. M. What is the furnace?

N. The school of Good Cousins.

G. M. What means the tree with its roots up in the air?

N. If all the trees were like that, the work of the Good Cousins would not be needed."

The catechism is much longer, but I have given only so much as will suffice to show the kind of instruction imparted in the first degree. Without any explanations following, one would think one was reading the catechism of one of those religions improvised on American soil, which seek by the singularity of form to stir up the imagination. But as in other societies, as that of the Illuminati, the object was not at the first onset to alarm the affiliated; his disposition had first to be tested before the real meaning of the ritual was revealed to him. Still, some of the figures betray themselves, though studiously concealed. The furnace is the collective work at which the Carbonari labour; the sacred fire they keep alive, is the flame of liberty, with which they desire to illumine the world. They did not without design choose coal for their symbol; for coal is the fountain of

light and warmth, that purifies the air. The forest represents Italy, the wild wood of Dante, infested with wild beasts—that is, foreign oppressors. The tree with the roots in the air is a figure of kingdoms destroyed and thrones overthrown. Catholic mysticism constantly reappears; the highest honours are given to Christ, who was indeed the Good Cousin of all men. Carbonarism did not openly assail religious belief, but made use of it, endeavouring to simplify and reduce it to first principles, as Freemasonry does. The candidate, as in the last-named Order, was supposed to perform journeys through the forest and through fire, to each of which a symbolical meaning was attached; though the true meaning was not told in this degree. In fact, to all who wished to gain an insight into the real objects of Carbonarism, this degree could not suffice. It was necessary to proceed.

548. *The Second Degree.*—The martyrdom of Christ occupies nearly the whole of the second degree, imparting to the catechism a sad character, calculated to surprise and terrify the candidate. The preceding figures were here invested with new and unexpected meanings, relating to the minutest particulars of the crucifixion of the Good Cousin Jesus; which more and more led the initiated to believe that the unusual and whimsical forms with stupendous artifice served to confound the ideas and suspicions of their enemies, and cause them to lose the traces of the fundamental idea. In the constant recurrence to the martyrdom of Christ we may discern two aims—the one essentially educational, to familiarise the Cousin with the idea of sacrifice, even, if necessary, of that of life; the other, chiefly political, intended to gain proselytes among the superstitious, the mystics, the souls loving Christianity, fundamentally good, however, prejudiced, because loving, and who constituted the greater number in a Roman Catholic country like Italy—then even more than now. The catechism, as already observed, has reference to the Crucifixion, and the symbols are all explained as representing something pertaining thereto. Thus the furnace signifies the Holy Sepulchre; the rustling of the leaves symbolises the flagellation of the Good Cousin the Grand Master of the Universe; and so on. The candidate for initiation into this degree has to undergo further trials. He represents Christ, whilst the Grand Master takes the name of Pilate, the first councillor that of Caiaphas, the second that of Herod; the Good Cousins generally are called the people. The candidate is led bound from one officer to

the other, and finally condemned to be crucified; but he is pardoned on taking a second oath, more binding than the first, consenting to have his body cut in pieces and burnt, as in the former degree. But still the true secret of the Order is not revealed.

549. *The Degree of Grand Elect.*—This degree is only to be conferred with the greatest precautions, secretly, and to Carbonari known for their prudence, zeal, courage, and devotion to the Order. Besides, the candidates, who shall be introduced into a grotto of reception, must be true friends of the liberty of the people, and ready to fight against tyrannical governments, who are the abhorred rulers of ancient and beautiful Ausonia. The admission of the candidate takes place by voting, and three black balls are sufficient for his rejection. He must be thirty-three years and three months old, the age of Christ on the day of His death. But the religious drama is now followed by one political. The lodge is held in a remote and secret place, only known to the Grand Masters already received into the degree of Grand Elect. The lodge is triangular, truncated at the eastern end. The Grand Master Grand Elect is seated upon a throne. Two guards, from the shape of their swords called flames, are placed at the entrance. The assistants take the name of Sun and Moon respectively. Three lamps, in the shape of sun, moon, and stars, are suspended at the three angles of the grotto or lodge. The catechism here reveals to the candidate that the object of the association is political, and aims at the overthrow of all tyrants, and the establishment of universal liberty, the time for which has arrived. To each prominent member his station and duties in the coming conflict are assigned, and the ceremony is concluded by all present kneeling down, and pointing their swords to their breasts, whilst the Grand Elect pronounces the following formula:—"I, a free citizen of Ausonia, swear before the Grand Master of the Universe, and the Grand Elect Good Cousin, to devote my whole life to the triumph of the principles of liberty, equality, and progress, which are the soul of all the secret and public acts of Carbonarism. I promise that, if it be impossible to restore the reign of liberty without a struggle, I will fight to the death. I consent, should I prove false to my oath, to be slain by my Good Cousins Grand Elects; to be fastened to the cross in a lodge, naked, crowned with thorns; to have my belly torn open, the entrails and heart taken out and scattered to the winds. Such are our conditions; swear!" The Good Cousins reply: "We swear."

There was something theatrical in all this; but the organisers no doubt looked to the effect it had on the minds of the initiated. If on this ground it could not be defended, then there is little excuse for judicial wigs and clerical gowns, episcopal gaiters, aprons, and shovel-hats, lord mayors' shows, parliamentary procedure, and royal pageants.

550. *Degree of Grand Master Grand Elect.*—This, the highest degree of Carbonarism, is only accessible to those who have given proofs of great intelligence and resolution. The Good Cousins being assembled in the lodge, the candidate is introduced blindfolded; two members, representing the two thieves, carry a cross, which is firmly planted in the ground. One of the two pretended thieves is then addressed as a traitor to the cause, and condemned to die on the cross. He resigns himself to his fate, as fully deserved, and is tied to the cross with silken cords; and, to delude the candidate, whose eyes are still bandaged, he utters loud groans. The Grand Master pronounces the same doom on the other robber, but he, representing the non-repentant one, exclaims: "I shall undergo my fate, cursing you, and consoling myself with the thought that I shall be avenged, and that strangers shall exterminate you to the last Carbonaro. Know that I have pointed out your retreat to the chiefs of the hostile army, and that within a short time you shall fall into their hands. Do your worst." The Grand Elect then turns to the candidate, and, alluding to the punishment awarded to traitors as done on the present occasion, informs him that he also must be fastened to the cross if he persists in his intention to proceed, and there receive on his body the sacred marks, whereby the Grand Masters Grand Elects of all the lodges are known to each other, and must also pronounce the oath, whereupon the bandage will be removed, he will descend from the cross, and be clothed with the insignia of the Grand Master Grand Elect. He is then firmly tied to the cross, and pricked three times on the right arm, seven times on the left, and three times under the left breast. The cross being erected in the middle of the cave, that the members may see the marks on the body, on a given sign, the bandage being removed, the Cousins stand around the candidate, pointing their swords and daggers at his breast, and threatening him with even a worse death should he turn traitor. They also watch his demeanour, and whether he betrays any fear. Seven toasts in his honour are then drunk, and the Grand Elect explains the real meaning of the symbols, which may not be printed, but is only to be written

down, and zealously guarded, the owner promising to burn or swallow it, rather then let it fall into other hands. The Grand Master concludes by speaking in praise of the revolution already initiated, announcing its triumph not only in the peninsula, but everywhere where Italian is spoken, and exclaims: "Very soon the nations weary of tyranny shall celebrate their victory over the tyrants; very soon" . . . Here the wicked thief exclaims: "Very soon all ye shall perish!" Immediately there is heard outside the grotto the noise of weapons and fighting. One of the doorkeepers announces that the door is on the point of being broken open, and an assault on it is heard directly after. The Good Cousins rush to the door placed behind the crosses, and therefore unseen by the candidate; the noise becomes louder, and there are heard the cries of Austrian soldiers; the Cousins return in great disorder as if overpowered by superior numbers, say a few words of encouragement to the candidate fastened to the cross, and disappear through the floor, which opens beneath them. Cousins, dressed in the hated uniform of the foreigner, enter and marvel at the disappearance of the Carbonari. Perceiving the persons on the crosses, they, on finding them still alive, propose to kill them at once; they charge and prepare to shoot them, when suddenly a number of balls fly into the cave, the soldiers fall down as if struck, and the Cousins re-enter through many openings, which at once close behind them, and shout: "Victory! Death to tyranny! Long live the republic of Ausonia! Long live liberty! Long live the government established by the brave Carbonari!" In an instant the apparently dead soldiers and the two thieves are carried out of the cave; and the candidate having been helped down from the cross, is proclaimed by the Grand Master, who strikes seven blows with his axe, a Grand Master Grand Elect.

551. *Signification of the Symbols.*—Not to interrupt the narrative, the explanation of the meaning of the symbols, given in this last degree, was omitted in the former paragraph, but follows here. It will be seen that it was not without reason that it was prohibited to print it. The cross serves to crucify the tyrant that persecutes us. The crown of thorns is to pierce his head. The thread denotes the cord to lead him to the gibbet; the ladder will aid him to mount. The leaves are nails to pierce his hands and feet. The pick-axe will penetrate his breast, and shed his impure blood. The axe will separate his head from his body. The salt will prevent the corruption of his head, that it may last as a monument of the eternal infamy of despots. The pole will serve to put

his head upon. The furnace will burn his body. The shovel will scatter his ashes to the wind. The baracca will serve to prepare new tortures for the tyrant before he is slain. The water will purify us from the vile blood we shall have shed. The linen will wipe away our stains. The forest is the place where the Good Cousins labour to attain so important a result. These details are extracted from the minutes of the legal proceedings against the conspiracy of the Carbonari.

552. *Other Ceremonies and Regulations.*—The candidate having been received into the highest degree, other Good Cousins entered the cave, proclaiming the victory of the Carbonari and the establishment of the Ausonian republic, whereupon the lodge was closed. The members all bore pseudonyms, by which they were known in the Order. These pseudonyms were entered in one book, whilst another contained their real names; and the two books were always kept concealed in separate places, so that the police, should they find one, should not be able to identify the conspirator. Officers of great importance were the Insinuators, Censors, Scrutators, and Coverers, whose appellations designate their duties. The higher officers were called Great Lights. Some of the affiliated, reserved for the most dangerous enterprises, were styled the Forlorn Hope; others *Stabene*, or the "Sedentary," who were not advanced beyond the first degree, on account of want of intelligence or courage. Like the Freemasons, the Carbonari had their own almanacs, dating their era from Francis I. They also had their passwords and signs. The decorations in the Apprentice degree were three ribbons—black, blue, and red; and in the Master's degree they wore a scarf of the same three colours. The ritual and the ceremonies, as partly detailed above, were probably strictly followed on particularly important occasions only; as to their origin, little is known concerning it—most likely they were invented among the Neapolitans. Nor were they always and at all places alike, but the spirit that breathed in them was permanent and universal; and that it was the spirit of liberty and justice can scarcely be denied, especially after the events of the last decades. The following summary of a manifesto proceeding from the Society of the Carbonari will show this very clearly.

553. *The Ausonian Republic.*—The epoch of the following document, of which, however, an abstract only is here given, is unknown. The open proceedings of Carbonarism give us no clue, because in many respects they deviate from the programme of this sectarian charter; sectarian, inasmuch as

the document has all the fulness of a social pact. But to whatever time these statutes belong, they cannot be read without the liveliest interest.

Italy, to which new times shall give a new name, sonorous and pure, Ausonia (the ancient Latin name), must be free from its threefold sea to the highest summit of the Alps. The territory of the republic shall be divided into twenty-one provinces, each of which shall send a representative to the National Assembly. Every province shall have its local assembly; all citizens, rich or poor, may aspire to all public charges; the mode of electing judges is strictly laid down; two kings, severally elected for twenty-one years, one of whom is to be called the king of the land, the other of the sea, shall be chosen by the sovereign assembly; all Ausonian citizens are soldiers; all fortresses not required to protect the country against foreigners shall be razed to the ground; new ports are to be constructed along the coasts, and the navy enlarged; Christianity shall be the State religion, but every other creed shall be tolerated; the college of cardinals may reside in the republic during the life of the pope reigning at the time of the promulgation of this charter—after his death, the college of cardinals will be abolished; hereditary titles and feudal rights are abolished; hospitals, charitable institutions, colleges, lyceums, primary and secondary schools, shall be largely increased, and properly allocated; punishment of death is inflicted on murderers only, transportation to one of the islands of the republic being substituted for all other punishments; monastic institutions are preserved, but no man can become a monk before the age of forty-five, and no woman a nun before that of forty, and even after having pronounced their vows, they may re-enter their own families. Mendicity is not allowed; the country finds work for able paupers, and succour for invalids. The tombs of great men are placed along the highways; the honour of a statue is awarded by the sovereign assembly. The constitutional pact may be revised every twenty-one years.

554. *Most Secret Carbonaro Degree.*—It was stated in sect. 550 that the Grand Master Grand Elect was the highest Carbonaro degree. But this requires qualification; there was one still higher, called the Seventh, to which few members were admitted. To the Principi Summo Patriarcho alone the real object of Carbonarism was revealed, and that its aims were identical with those of the Illuminati (356). Witt von Dörring (b. 1800), an initiate, tells us in his

Autobiography, that the candidate swore destruction to every government, whether despotic or democratic. "The Summo Maestro," he says, "laughs at the zeal of the common Carbonari, who sacrifice themselves for Italian liberty and independence; to him this is not the object, but a means. I received this degree under the name of Giulio Alessandro Jerimundo Werther Domingone." As there were two modes of initiation, one in open lodge and another by "communication," the supreme chief notifying by a document to the new member his election, which was done in De Witt's case, he never took the oath of secrecy, and thus considered himself at liberty to divulge what had been communicated to him.

555. *De Witt, Biographical Notice of.*—As Jean de Witt was a prominent character in the secret associations of this century, we give a few biographical notes concerning him. Born in 1800 at Altona, he was early placed under the tuition of Pastor Meier of Alsen, who had been a member of the Jacobin club. At the age of seventeen he went to the University of Kiel, and afterwards to that of Jena; in 1818 he joined the Burschenschaft, and was soon after initiated into the sect of the Black Knights, in consequence of which he had to flee to England, where he contributed many articles on German politics and princes full of scandalous details to the *Morning Chronicle*. Invited by his maternal uncle, the Baron Eckstein, Inspector-General of the Ministry of Police, to come to Paris, he there became acquainted with Count Serre, Minister of Justice, who protected him, whilst De Witt was in close communication with French and Italian conspirators. In 1821 he was at Geneva as Inspector-General of Swiss and German Carbonari. He was soon after seized in Savoy, and thence taken to Turin, where, however, the Austrian Field-Marshal Bubna, who then commanded all the troops in Upper Italy, and who was a Freemason, treated him with the greatest respect, for as a Freemason De Witt occupied a much higher rank than Bubna; and when the ambassadors of all the Courts at Turin, that of England excepted, insisted on De Witt's extradition to their respective states, he allowed him, on his giving his word of honour to make no attempt at escape, to go to Milan, where he was received with great honour in the house of the Chief of Police, Baron von Göhausen. Bubna had made himself personally answerable to his government for the safe custody of De Witt, and this latter had promised not to escape, though he was allowed to go about almost like a freeman. But when he found that the Austrian

authorities intended to begin his trial, he wrote to Bubna that he was determined to make his escape. Orders were sent to watch him closely; but within a week he was in possession of false keys, which fitted all the doors of his prison, and the head gaoler, who had shown himself too zealous in watching him, was transferred to Mantua, and 1200 lire were provided for his journey. He escaped to Genoa, intending thence to sail for Spain, where he was sure of meeting with friends, but finding all vessels bound for that country under close police surveillance, he made his way into Switzerland. Under different names and various disguises he stayed there and in Germany for about a year. All the German Governments offered a large reward for his apprehension, and at last he was seized at Bayreuth, though he had previously been warned that the police were on his traces, a warning which could only have come from highly-placed officials. And as soon as he was taken some of them waited on him with offers of friendship and protection. But Berlin was then the seat of the Prussian masonic chiefs, and through them De Witt was secretly informed of all the charges which would be brought against him, and the result was that he was acquitted of them all, and restored to liberty, as also was Cousin, a fellow-conspirator and fellow-prisoner. Cesare Cantu, the Italian historian, accuses De Witt of having, by his own admission, been thoroughly initiated into all the revolutionary plots in Europe but in order to betray them, and stir up discord among them (see *Il Conciliatore e i Carbonari*, Milano, 1878, p. 164). De Witt's subsequent career seems to lend some support to this charge. In 1828 he married a wealthy lady, and purchased an estate in Upper Silesia, where he was living in 1855, professing highly conservative principles, in fact, to such a degree as to be charged with belonging to the Ultramontanes, in consequence of which he was detested, and frequently attacked, by the democratic party.

556. *Carbonaro Charter proposed to England.*—A charter or project, said to have been proposed by the Carbonari to the English Government in 1813, when the star of Napoleon was fast declining, is to the following effect:—Italy shall be free and independent. Its boundaries shall be the three seas and the Alps. Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the seven islands, and the islands along the coasts of the Mediterranean, Adriatic, and Ionian Seas shall form an integral portion of the Roman Empire. Rome shall be the capital of the empire. . . . As soon as the French shall have evacuated

the peninsula, the new emperor shall be elected from among the reigning families of Naples, Piedmont, or England. Illyria shall form a kingdom of itself, and be given to the King of Naples as an indemnity for Sicily. This project in some respects widely differs from the one preceding it, and there is great doubt whether it ever emanated from the Carbonari.

557. *Carbonarism and Murat.*—The excessive number of the affiliated soon disquieted rulers, and especially Murat, King of Naples, whose fears were increased by a letter from Dandolo, Councillor of State, saying: "Sire, Carbonarism is spreading in Italy; free your kingdom from it, if possible, because the sect is opposed to thrones." Maghella, a native of Genoa, who became Minister of Police under Murat, advised that king, on the other hand, to declare openly against Napoleon, and to proclaim the independence of Italy, and for that purpose to favour the Carbonari; but Murat was too irresolute to follow the course thus pointed out, and declared against the Carbonari. The measures taken by him, however, only increased the activity of the sect and the hopes of the banished Bourbons, who in the neighbouring Sicily watched every turn of affairs that might promise their restoration. Murat proscribed the sect, which induced it to seek the assistance of England, as we have already seen. It also grew into favour with the Bourbons and Lord William Bentinck. The emissaries sent to Palermo, to come to terms with the exiled royal family, returned to Naples with a plan fully arranged, the results of which were soon seen in Calabria and the Abruzzi. The promise of a constitution was the lure with which England—whose chief object, however, was the overthrow of Napoleon—attracted the sectaries; the Bourbons, constrained by England, promised the Neapolitans a liberal constitution on their being restored to the throne. The Prince of Moliterno suggested to England that the only means of defeating France was to favour Italian unity; and the idea was soon widely promulgated and advocated throughout the country. Murat sent General Manhès against the Carbonari, with orders to exterminate them. Many of the leaders were captured and executed, but the sect, nevertheless, succeeded in effecting a partial and temporary revolution in favour of the Bourbons; which, however, was soon quelled by the energetic measures of Queen Caroline Murat, who was regent during her husband's then absence. About this time, also, dissensions arose among the members of the sect; its leaders, seeing the difficulty of directing the movements of so great a confederacy, conceived the plan of a reform,

and executed it with secrecy and promptitude. The members who were retained continued to bear the name of Carbonari, while those who were expelled, according to some accounts, took that of Calderari (Braziers), and an implacable hatred arose between the rival sects. Murat wavered for some time between the two parties, and at last determined on supporting the Carbonari, who were most numerous. But it was too late. They had no confidence in him; and they also knew his desperate circumstances. Murat fell.

558. *Trial of Carbonari.*—An extensive organisation for the union of all secret Carbonaro societies was discovered in 1817 by an attempt, which was to have been made at Macerata, on the 24th June in that year, to raise the standard of revolt, but which failed through a mere accident—the premature firing of two muskets. A great many of the leading Carbonari were apprehended, and conveyed to the Castle of St. Angelo and other prisons in Rome, where they were tried in October 1818 by order of the pope; five of them were sentenced to death, but the pope mitigated their punishment to perpetual confinement in a fortress; three were sentenced to the galleys for life, which punishment was reduced by the pope to ten years. We learn from this Roman trial that the Republican Brother Protectors—one of the branches of Carbonarism—swore over a phial of poison and a red-hot iron, "never to divulge the secrets of the society, and to submit in case of perjury to the punishment of dying by poison, and having their flesh burnt by the red-hot iron."

559. *Carbonarism and the Bourbons.*—King Ferdinand, having, to recover his crown, favoured the Carbonari, when he thought himself again firmly seated on the throne, and secretly disliking the society, endeavoured to kick down the ladder by which he had mounted. The Carbonari, who had restored not only the king, but order in Calabria and the Abruzzi, and rendered roads and property secure—the Carbonari, so highly extolled at one time, that the pope had ordered priests and monks to preach, that making the signs of the Carbonaro would suffice to justify Saint Peter to open the gate of Paradise—these same Carbonari were now declared the enemies of God and man. The king refused to keep the promises he had made, and forbade the holding of Carbonari meetings. The Prince of Canosa, who became Minister of Police in 1819, determined to exterminate them. For this purpose he formed the Brigands, who had played a part in the sanguinary scenes of 1799, into a new society, of which he himself became the head, inviting all the old Calderari to join

him, on account of their enmity to the Carbonari. He required them to take the following oath :—"I, A. B., promise and swear upon the Trinity, upon this cross and upon this steel, the avenging instrument of the perjured, to live and die in the Roman Catholic and Apostolic faith, and to defend with my blood this religion and the society of True Friendship, the Calderari. I swear never to offend, in honour, life, or property, the children of True Friendship, &c. I swear eternal hatred to all Masonry, and its atrocious protectors, as well as to all Jansenists, Materialists (Molinists?), Economists, and Illuminati. I swear, that if through wickedness or levity I suffer myself to be perjured, I submit to the loss of life, and then to be burnt, &c." But the king having learnt what his Minister had been attempting without his knowledge, deprived him of his office and banished him; and thus his efforts came to nothing. In 1819 took place the rising at Cadiz, by which the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII., was compelled to give Spain constitutional privileges. This again stirred up the Carbonari; but there was no unanimity in their counsels, and their intrigues only led to many being imprisoned and others banished. An attempt made in 1820 extorted a constitution; the leader was the Abbé Menichini. The influence of the Carbonari increased; lodges were established everywhere. Between 1815 and 1820, in the Neapolitan states alone, more than two hundred thousand members were affiliated, comprising all classes, from the palace to the cottage; it included priests, monks, politicians, soldiers. Giampietro was then chief of the Neapolitan police, who used the most cruel means to suppress the sect; but public discontent was brought to a climax in July 1820, when two officers, Morelli and Silvati, with one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers and privates, deserted from their regiment at Nola, and, accompanied by the priest Menichini and some leading Carbonari, took the road to Avellino. Lieutenant-Colonel De Concili, also a Carbonaro, who was in command of the troops at Avellino, joined the insurgents. When the news of these events reached Naples, the students of the University, as well as many of the soldiers forming the garrison of the capital, hastened to De Concili's camp. The house of the advocate Colletta became the centre of action at Naples; all the Carbonari prepared to second the action of their brethren. The king, advised to send General Pépé against the insurgents, declined the proposal, because Pépé was suspected of being a Liberal. In his stead he sent General Carrascosa,

who left Naples on the 4th July; on the 5th he despatched General Nunziante from Nocera, and General Campana from Salerno, against the insurgents. Carrascosa, unwilling to shed the blood of his countrymen, wished to negotiate. But before he could do so, General Campana had suffered a defeat, and the soldiers of Nunziante raised the standard of the Carbonari, and, joining the troops of De Concili, placed themselves under his command. Carrascosa, with the king's connivance, proposed to bribe the leaders of the insurrection with large sums of money to give up the enterprise and leave the country, but before he had an opportunity of making the attempt, the soldiers remaining in Naples, as well as the population, rose against the king, who found himself entirely forsaken. He was compelled to yield. The Duke of Piccotellis and five other Carbonari presented themselves in the palace and compelled the king to grant them a personal interview, at which they demanded the immediate publication of a Constitution. The king promised one in "perhaps two hours." Piccotellis drawing out his watch held it up to the king's face and said, "It is now one o'clock in the morning; at three o'clock the Constitution must be proclaimed." And he turned his back on the king, and with his attendants left the room. The king granted the Constitution, though with the mental reserve of overthrowing it on the first favourable opportunity. He swore, nevertheless, in the most solemn manner to keep it; the Carbonari leaders were invited to Naples; the king's son, the Duke of Calabria, became a member of the sect, a fatal concession on its part, for now all its secrets, signs, words, and symbols were openly proclaimed; Carbonarism, in fact, was cunningly betrayed by the king and his satellites. Russia, Austria, and Prussia threatened to interfere in Neapolitan affairs in favour of Ferdinand; at a secret meeting of some of the oldest Carbonari it was proposed to shut up the king in the Castle of St. Eleno. Unfortunately this advice was not immediately acted on. The Holy Alliance, to save the king's life, which they knew to be in danger, invited him to join the congress at Laybach, that, in common with the European potentates, he might assist in the settlement of the affairs of his own kingdom. Unwisely the Neapolitan parliament allowed him to depart; yet even on board ship the treacherous despot repeated his assurances of maintaining the Constitution he had granted his subjects. But on his arrival at Laybach he declared that, in granting the Constitution, he had only yielded to superior force, and that he was determined to

return to Naples as an absolute monarch. The pope absolved him from the oath he had taken, and even in a solemn encyclical commanded priests to violate the secret of the confessional whenever wives, mothers, sisters, or daughters had declared relations to belong to the sect of the Carbonari. At the request of Ferdinand himself an Austrian army of 50,000 men, with a Russian army in reserve, marched upon Naples. The king on his way south stopped at Florence, where he decorated the Chapel of the Annunciation with gorgeous gold and silver lamps, and the inscription: "*Mariæ genitrici Dei Ferd. I. Utr. Sic. rex Don. d.d. anno* 1821 *ob pristinum imperii decus, ope eius prestantissima recuperatum.* (To Mary, the Mother of God, Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies, for the restored splendour of the kingdom, by means of her most valiant help, dedicated these in the year 1821.) Proving once more, if proof were necessary, that "blood-thirsty tyrants are most zealous saints." Every one of the king's immediate attendants had upon him a new cockade bearing the inscription: "*Viva l'assoluto potere di Ferdinando I.!*"

560. *The King's Revenge.*—General Pépé, who in his youth had for three years been a prisoner in the horrible prison of Marettimo—a rock-hewn cistern turned into a dungeon—endeavoured to arrest the advance of the foreigner, but his raw militia were ill prepared to meet the disciplined forces of Austria, who defeated Pépé at Rieti, and followed up this victory by marching on the 23rd March into Naples. Then the king glutted his desire for vengeance. All the past treaties with his subjects were considered as void, and all previous acts of pardon annulled. Not a day passed without the sound of the bell tolling for an execution; thousands of the most respected citizens of Naples were condemned to horrible dungeons in the penal islands off Sicily and Naples or the rock-dungeons of San Stefano and Pantelleria, while numbers fled the country as exiles. Morelli and Silvati were hanged for having deserted their standard, and been the prime movers of the revolution. But the king had entered into a treaty with his people, and sworn to uphold the Constitution he had granted in consequence of the revolution, hence their execution is condemned by logic and justice.

561. *Revival of Carbonarism.*—Carbonarism marks a transition period in the history of secret societies. From secret societies occupied with religion, philosophy, and politics in the abstract, it leads us to the secret societies whose objects are more immediately and practically political. And thus in

France, Italy, and other States, it gave rise to numerous and various sects, wherein we find the men of thought and those of action combining for one common object—the progress, as they understood it, of human society. Carbonarism, in fact, was revived about the year 1825, and some ten years after combined, or rather coalesced, with the society known as Young Italy, whose aims were identical with those of the Carbonari—the expulsion of the foreigner from Italian soil, and the unification of Italy.

The Duke of Modena had for some time coquetted with the Carbonari, in the hope of obtaining through them the sovereignty of the minor duchies, the kingdom of Sardinia and the Lombardo-Venetian states, and had thus encouraged Menotti, the foremost patriot of Central Italy, in counting on his help in driving out the foreigner. When, however, he found that France, on whose co-operation he had relied, would disappoint him, he abandoned the Carbonari and denounced them, but they compelled the Duke to fly to Mantua. They also drove Maria Louisa, the Duchess of Parma, and widow of Napoleon I., into exile. But their triumph lasted only twenty-eight days. At the end of that period the Duke of Modena and the Duchess of Parma were restored by the assistance of Austrian troops, and the Duke caused Menotti to be hanged. From that day the prisons of Modena were filled with Italian patriots. Count Charles Arrivabene said of them, "No words can give an idea of the horrors of the prisons of Modena when I saw them. . . . Excepting the infamous dens of the Papal and Neapolitan states, there is nothing that can be compared with them."

But Carbonarism continued to be at work under the name of Unità Italiana, whose signs and passwords were made public by the prosecution it underwent at Naples in 1850.

562. *Carbonarism and the Church.*—The Carbonari in the Roman States aimed at the overthrow of the papal power, and chose the moment when the pope was expected to die to carry out their scheme. They had collected large forces and provisions at Macerata; but the sudden recovery of the pope put a stop to the enterprise. The leaders were betrayed into the hands of the government, and some of them condemned to death and others to perpetual imprisonment, though the pope afterwards commuted the sentences (558).

563. *Carbonarism in Northern Italy.*—In Lombardy and Venetia also the Carbonari had their lodges, and their object was the expulsion of the foreigner, the Austrian. The most important and influential was the Italian Federation. But

here also they failed; and among the victims of the failure were Silvio Pellico, Confalonieri, Castiglia, Torelli, Maroncelli, and many others, who, after having been exposed on the pillory at Milan and other places, were sent to Spielberg and other German fortresses.

564. *Carbonarism in France.*—Carbonarism was introduced into France under the names of Adelphes or Philadelphians, by Joubert and Dugied, who had taken part in revolutionary movements in their own country in 1820, and after having for some time taken refuge in Italy, where they had joined the Carbonari, brought their principles to France on their return from their expatriation. The sect made rapid progress among the French; all the students at the different universities became members, and ventas were established in the army. Lafayette was chosen their chief. Lodges existed at La Rochelle, Poitiers, Niort, Bordeaux, Colmar, Neuf-Brisach, and Belfort, where, in 1821, an unsuccessful attempt was made against the government—unsuccessful, because in this, as in other attempts, the government knew beforehand the plans of the conspirators, betrayed to them by false Carbonari. Risings in other places equally failed; and though the society continued to exist, and had a share in the events of the revolution of 1830, still, considering the number of its members, and the great resources and influence it consequently possessed, it cannot be said to have produced any adequate results.

565. *Carbonarism in Germany.*—Carbonari lodges existed in all parts of Germany, but I will mention one only, because of the excitement its discovery caused at the time. In 1849 the police of Bremen arrested one Hobelmann, who was tutor in the family of a Thuringian nobleman, and who proved to be the chief of a Carbonaro sect calling itself the *Todtenbund*, or "Society of Death," since its aim was to kill all who should oppose its objects. Its statutes, and a long list of persons condemned to death, were found by the police.

566. *Carbonarism in Spain.*—The sect was introduced into Spain by refugee Italians about 1820, spreading chiefly in Catalonia, without, however, acquiring much influence at first. Their importance dates from the time of the quarrel between the Spanish Freemasons and the Comuneros (1822), when they sided with the former; but when the Freemasons and the Comuneros were reconciled (1823), the Carbonari were opposed by both parties, and lost all influence (522).

567. *Giardiniere.*—As the Freemasons had their Adoptive Lodges, so the Carbonari admitted women, who were collec-

tively called *giardiniere*, garden-women, each sister taking the name of a flower. Their mission, of course, was to act as lures or spies. But they also fulfilled higher functions; they alleviated the condition of the prisoners of despotism, especially in Italy, where many lady members of the *Società della Misericordia* were Giardiniere, and, having free access to the Austrian prisons in Piedmont, supplemented the scanty food allowed to the imprisoned Carbonari by the authorities with liberal additions.

V

MISCELLANEOUS ITALIAN SOCIETIES

568. *Guelphic Knights.*—One of the most important societies that issued, about the year 1816, from the midst of the Carbonari was that of the Guelphic Knights, who were very powerful in all parts of Italy. A report of the Austrian police says: "This society is the most dangerous, on account of its origin and diffusion, and the profound mystery which surrounds it. It is said that this society derives its origin from England or Germany." Its origin, nevertheless, was purely Italian. The councils consisted of six members, who, however, did not know each other, but intercommunicated by means of one person, called the "Visible," because he alone was visible. Every council also had one youth of undoubted faith, called the "Clerk," to communicate with students of universities, and a youth called a "Friend," to influence the people; but neither the Clerk nor the Friend were initiated into the mysteries of the Order. Every council assumed a particular name, such as "Virtue," "Honour," "Loyalty," and met, as if for amusement only, without apparatus or writing of any kind. A supreme council sat at Bologna; there were councils at Florence, Venice, Milan, Naples, &c. They endeavoured to gain adherents, who should be ignorant of the existence of the society, and should yet further its ends. Lucien Bonaparte is said to have been a "great light" among them. Their object was the independence of Italy, to be effected by means of all the secret societies of the country united under the leadership of the Guelphs.

569. *Guelphs and Carbonari.*—The Guelphs in reality formed a high vendita or lodge of the Carbonari, and the chiefs of the Carbonari were also chiefs among the Guelphs; but only those that had distinct offices among the Carbonari could be admitted among the Guelphs. There can be no doubt that the Carbonari, when the sect had become very numerous, partly sheltered themselves under the designation

of Guelphs and Adelphi or Independents, by affiliating themselves to these societies.

570. *The Latini.*—This sect existed about 1817. Only those initiated into the higher degrees of Carbonarism could become members. In their oath they declared: "I swear to employ every means in my power to further the happiness of Italy. I swear religiously to keep the secret and fulfil the duties of this society, and never to do aught that could compromise its safety; and that I will only act in obedience to its decisions. If ever I violate this oath, I will submit to whatever punishment the society may inflict, even to death." The most influential vendite were gradually merged in this degree.

571. *The Centres.*—An offshoot of Carbonarism was the society formed in Lombardy, under the designation of the "Centres." Nothing was to be written; and conversation on the affairs of the Order was only to take place between two members at a time, who recognised each other by the words, "Succour to the unfortunate," and by raising the hand three times to the forehead, in sign of grief. The Centres once more revived the hopes of Murat. A rising was to take place under his auspices against the detested Austrians; the ringing of the bells of Milan was to be the signal for the outbreak; and it is said that "Vespers" had been arranged, from which no Austrian was to escape alive. But on the appointed day fear or horror held the hand that was to have given the signal, that of General Fontanelli. Hence, fatal delay and the discovery of the secret. For Bellegarde or Talleyrand sent a certain Viscount Saint-Aignan among the conspirators, who after having discovered all their plans, betrayed them to Austria, and was never heard of again. Austria seized the ringleaders and instituted proceedings against them, which lasted about three years, and were finally closed by delivering—it is not known why, but probably through Carbonaro influence—very mild sentences against the conspirators.

572. *Italian Littérateurs.*—This sect, introduced into Palermo in 1823, had neither signs nor distinctive marks. In every town there was a delegate, called the "Radical," who could affiliate unto himself ten others or more, acquiring the name of "decurion," or "centurion." The initiated were called "sons," who in their turn could affiliate unto themselves ten others, and these could do the same in their turn; so that thus a mighty association was formed. The initiated were called "Brethren Barabbas," Christ repre-

senting the tyrant, and Barabbas the people—a singular confusion of ideas, by which the victim slain on the cross for the redemption of human conscience and thought was considered as an example and upholder of tyranny. But it was a symbolism which concealed juster ideas, and more conformable with truth. They recognised each other by means of a ring, and attested their letters by the well-known initials I. N. R. I. The society was much feared and jealously watched, and helped to fill the prisons. It only ceased when other circumstances called forth other societies.

573. *Societies in Calabria and the Abruzzi.*—These districts, by their natural features and the disposition of their inhabitants, were at all times the favourite resorts of conspirators. We there find the sects of the "European Patriots or White Pilgrims," the "Philadelphians," and the "Decisi," who thence spread into other Italian provinces, with military organisation, arms, and commanders. The first two partly came from France; nor were their operations, as the names intimate, confined to the peninsula. The lodges of the "Decisi" (Decided) were called "Decisions," as the assemblies of the Patriots were called "Squadrons," each from forty to sixty strong, and those of the Philadelphians, "Camps." The Decisi, whose numbers amounted perhaps to forty thousand, held their meetings at night, carefully guarded by sentinels; and their military exercises took place in solitary houses, or suppressed convents. Their object was to fall upon Naples and proclaim a republic; but circumstances were not propitious. Their leader, Ciro Annichiarico, a priest, was a man of great resources and vast influence, so that it was necessary to despatch against him General Church, who captured him and had him shot. As Ciro was rather a remarkable personage, a brief account of him may not be uninteresting.

574. *Ciro Annichiarico.*—This priest was driven from society by his crimes. He was accused of murder, committed in a fit of jealousy, and sentenced to fifteen years of exile, although there is strong reason to believe that he was innocent. But instead of being permitted to leave the country, according to the sentence, he was for four years kept in prison, whence at last he made his escape, took refuge in the forests, and placed himself at the head of a band of outlaws, and, as his enemies declare, committed all kinds of enormities. At Martano, they say, he penetrated into one of the first houses of the place, and, after having

offered violence to its mistress, massacred her with all her people, and carried off 96,000 ducats. He was in correspondence with all the brigands; and whoever wished to get rid of an enemy, had only to address himself to Ciro. On being asked, after his capture, how many persons he had killed with his own hand, he carelessly answered, "Who can remember? Perhaps sixty or seventy." His activity, artifice, and intrepidity were astonishing. He was a first-rate shot and rider; his singular good fortune in extricating himself from the most imminent dangers acquired for him the reputation of a necromancer, upon whom ordinary means of attack had no power. Though a priest himself, and exercising the functions of one when he thought it expedient, he was rather a libertine, and declared his clerical colleagues to be impostors without any faith. He published a paper against the missionaries, who, according to him, disseminated illiberal opinions among the people, and forbade them on pain of death to preach in the villages, "because, instead of the true principles of the Gospel, they taught nothing but fables and impostures." Probably Ciro was pretty correct in his estimate of their performances. He could be generous on occasions. One day he surprised General D'Octavio, a Corsican, in the service of Murat—who pursued him for a long time with a thousand men—walking alone in a garden. Ciro discovered himself, remarking, that the life of the general, who was unarmed, was in his hands; "but," said he, "I will pardon you this time, although I shall no longer be so indulgent if you continue to hunt me about." So saying, he leaped over the wall and disappeared. His physiognomy was rather agreeable; he was of middle stature, well made, and very strong. He had a verbose eloquence. Extremely addicted to pleasure, he had mistresses, at the period of his power, in all the towns of the province over which he was continually ranging. When King Ferdinand returned to his states on this side the Taro, he recalled such as had been exiled for political opinions. Ciro attempted to pass for one of these, but a new order of arrest was issued against him. It was then that he placed himself at the head of the Decisi. Many excesses are laid to their charge. A horde of twenty or thirty of them overran the country in disguise, masked as punchinellos. In places where open force could not be employed, the most daring were sent to watch for the moment to execute the sentences of secret death pronounced by the society. It was thus that the justice of the peace of Luogo Rotondo and his wife were killed

in their own garden; and that the sectary, Perone, plunged his knife into the bowels of an old man of seventy, and afterwards massacred his wife and servant, having introduced himself into their house under pretence of delivering a letter. As has already been intimated, it was finally found necessary to send an armed force, under the command of General Church, against this band of ruffians. Many of them having been taken, and the rest dispersed, Ciro, with only three companions, took refuge in one of the fortified farm-houses near Francavilla, but after a vigorous defence was obliged to surrender. The Council of War, by which he was tried, condemned him to be shot. A missionary offered him the consolations of religion. Ciro answered him with a smile, "Let us leave alone this prating; we are of the same profession; don't let us laugh at one another." On his arrival at the place of execution, Ciro wished to remain standing; he was told to kneel, and did so, presenting his breast. He was then informed that malefactors like himself were shot with their backs to the soldiers; he submitted, at the same time advising a priest, who persisted in remaining near him, to withdraw, so as not to expose himself. Twenty-one balls took effect, four in the head, yet he still breathed and muttered in his throat; the twenty-second put an end to him. This fact was confirmed by all the officers and soldiers present at his death. "As soon as we perceived," said a soldier very gravely, "that he was enchanted, we loaded his own musket with a silver ball, and this destroyed the spell." After the death of the leader, some two hundred and thirty persons were brought to trial; nearly half of them, having been guilty of murder and robbery with violence, were condemned to capital punishment, and their heads exposed near the places of their residence, or in the scene of their crimes.

575. *Certificates of the Decisi.*—To render the account of the Decisi as complete as it need be, I subjoin a copy of one of their patents or certificates:—

*T*ristezza. *M*orte.

Death's Head. S(alentina). D(ecisione). (*S*alute). Seal. Death's Head.

N°. *V*. *G*randi *M*uratori.

L. *D*. *D*. *G*. *T*.—*E*. *D*. *T*. *D*. *U*.[1]

*Il M*ortale Gaetano Caffieri è un *F*. *D*. *N*umero *Q*uinto, appartenente alla *D*ᵉ del *T*onante *G*iove, sparsa sulla superficie della *T*erra, per la sua *D*ᵉ avuto il piacere di far parte in questa *R*. *S*. *D*. *N*oi dunque invitiamo tutte le *S*ocietà *F*ilantropiche a prestar il loro braccio forte al medesimo ed a soccorerlo ne' suoi bisogni, essendo egli giunto alla *D*ᵉ di acquistare la *L*ibertà o *M*orte. *O*ggi li 29 *O*ttobre 1817.

Pietro Gargaro. *Il G*. *M*. *D*. *N*°. 1.

. . . .

V°. de Serio 2° Deciso

Gaetano Caffieri
Registratore de' Morti. Seal.

Cross bones. *T*error. Cross bones. *S*truggle.

Translation.

The Salentine Decision.

Health!

No. 5, Grand Masons.

The Decision of Jupiter Tonans (the name of the lodge) hopes to make war against the tyrants of the universe, &c.

The mortal Gaetano Caffieri is a Brother Decided, No. 5, belonging to the Decision of Jupiter the Thunderer, spread over the face of the earth, has had the pleasure to belong to this Salentine Republican Decision. We invite, therefore, all Philanthropic Societies to lend their strong arm to the same, and to assist him in his wants, he having come to the decision to obtain liberty or death. Dated this day, the 29th October 1817.

Pietro Gargaro, the Decided Grand Master, No. 1.
Vito de Serio, Second Decided.
Gaetano Caffieri, Registrar of the Dead.

[1] That is: La Decisione di Giove Tonante—Esterminatore dei Tiranni dell' Universo.

The letters in italics in the original were written in blood. The upper seal represents fasces planted upon a death's head, surmounted by the Phrygian cap, and flanked by hatchets; the lower, thunderbolts casting down royal and imperial crowns and the tiara. The person in whose favour the certificate is issued, figures himself among the signatures with the title of Registrar of the Dead, that is, of those they immolated to their vengeance, of whom they kept a register apart. The four points observable after the signature of Pietro Gargaro indicate his power of passing sentence of death. When the Decisi wrote to any one to extort contributions, if they added these four points, it was known that the person they addressed was condemned to death in case of disobedience. If the points were not added he was threatened with milder punishment. Their colours, yellow, red, and blue, surrounded the patent.

576. *The Calderari.*—This society, alluded to before, is of uncertain origin. Count Orloff, in his work, "Memoirs on the Kingdom of Naples," says they arose in 1813, when the reform of Carbonarism took place. Canosa, on the other hand, in a pamphlet published at Dublin, and entitled, "The Mountain Pipes," says they arose at Palermo, and not at Naples. In the former of these towns there existed different trade companies, which had enjoyed great privileges, until they lost them by the constitution of Lord William Bentinck. The numerous company of braziers (*calderari*) felt the loss most keenly, and they sent a deputation to the Queen of Naples, assuring her that they were ready to rise in her defence. The flames of the insurrection were communicated to the tanners and other companies, and all the Neapolitan emigrants in Sicily. Lord William Bentinck put the emigrants on board ship and sent them under a neutral flag to Naples, where Murat received them very kindly. But they were not grateful. Immediately on their arrival they entered into the secret societies then conspiring against the French Government, and their original name of Calderari was communicated by them to the conspirators, before then called "Trinitarii." We have seen that on the return of Ferdinand, Prince Canosa favoured the Calderari. He styled them the Calderari of the Counterpoise, because they were to serve as such to Carbonarism. The fate of Canosa and that of the Calderari has already been mentioned (557, 559).

577. *The Independents.*—Though these also aimed at the independence of Italy, yet it appears that they were not disinclined to effect it by means of foreign assistance. The

report at that time was that they actually once intended to offer the crown of Italy to the Duke of Wellington; but this is highly improbable, since our Iron Duke was not at all popular in Italy. But it is highly probable that they sought the co-operation of Russia, which, since 1815, maintained many agents in Italy—with what purpose is not exactly known; the collection of statistical and economical information was the ostensible object, but Austria looked on them with a very suspicious eye, and watched them narrowly. The Independents had close relations with these Russian agents, probably, as it is surmised, with a view of turning Russian influence to account in any outbreak against Austria.

578. *The Delphic Priesthood.*—This was another secret society, having the same political object as the foregoing. The Delphic priest, the patriotic priest, the priest militant, spoke thus: "My mother has the sea for her mantle, high mountains for her sceptre;" and when asked who his mother was, replied: "The lady with the dark tresses, whose gifts are beauty, wisdom, and formerly strength: whose dowry is a flourishing garden, full of flagrant flowers, where bloom the olive and the vine; and who now groans, stabbed to the heart." The Delphics entertained singular hopes, and would invoke the "remedy of the ocean" (American auxiliaries) and the epoch of "cure" (a general European war). They called the partisans of France "pagans," and those of Austria, "monsters"; the Germans they styled "savages." Their place of meeting they designated as the "ship," to foreshadow the future maritime greatness of Italy, and the help they expected from over the sea; their chief was the "pilot."

579. *Egyptian Lodges.*—Immediately after the downfall of Napoleon, societies were formed also in foreign countries to promote Italian independence. The promoters of these were chiefly exiles. Distant Egypt even became the centre of such a propaganda; and under the auspices of Mehemet Ali, who aspired to render himself independent of the Sublime Porte, there was established the Egyptian rite of Cagliostro with many variations, and under the title of the "Secret Egyptian Society." Under masonic forms, the Pacha hoped to further his own views; and especially, to produce political changes in the Ionian Islands and in Italy, he scattered his agents all over the Mediterranean coasts. Being masonic, the society excluded no religion; it retained the two annual festivals, and added a third in memory of

Napoleon, whose portrait was honoured in the lodge. The rites were chiefly those of the ancient and accepted Scotch. Women were admitted, Turks excluded; and in the lodges of Alexandria and Cairo, the Greek and Arab women amounted to more than three hundred. The emissaries, spread over many parts of Europe, corresponded in cipher; but of the operations of the society nothing was ever positively known.

580. *American Hunters.*—The Society of the "American Hunters" was founded at Ravenna, shortly after the prosecutions of Macerata, and the measures taken by the Austrian Government, in 1818, against the Carbonari. Lord Byron is said to have been at its head, having imbibed his love for Italy through the influence of an Italian beauty, the Countess Guiccioli, whose brother had been exiled a few years before. Its ceremonies assimilated it to the "Comuneros" of Spain, and it seems to have had the same aims as the Delphic Priesthood. The saviour was to come from America, and it is asserted that Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-King of Spain, was a member of the society. It is not improbable that the partisans of Napoleon gathered new hopes after the events of 1815. A sonnet, of which the first quatrain is here given, was at that time very popular in Central Italy, and shows the direction of the political wind—

> "Scandalised by groaning under kings so fell,
> Filling Europe with dismay in ev'ry part,
> We are driven to solicit Bonaparte
> To return from Saint Helena or from hell."

The restored sect made itself the centre of many minor sects, among which were the "Sons of Mars," so called because composed chiefly of military men; of the "Artist Brethren"; "the Defenders of the Country"; the "Friends of Duty;" and others, having the simpler and less compromising forms of Carbonarism. In the sect of the "Sons of Mars," the old Carbonari vendita was called "bivouac"; the apprentice, "volunteer"; the good cousin, "corporal"; the master, "sergeant"; the grand master, "commander"; and the chief dignitaries of Carbonarism still governed, from above and unseen, the thoughts of the sect. Many other sects existed, of which scarcely more than the names are known, the recapitulation of which would only weary the reader.

581. *Secret Italian Society in London.*—London was a great centre of the sectaries. In 1822, a society for liberating

Italy from the Austrian yoke was formed in that city, counting among its members many distinguished Italian patriots. Austria took the alarm, and sent spies to discover their plans. These spies represented the operations of the society as very extensive and imminent. An expedition was to sail from the English coasts for Spain, to take on board a large number of adherents, land them on the Italian shores, and spread insurrection everywhere. The English general, Robert Wilson, was said to be at the head of the expedition; of which, however, nothing was ever heard, and the Austrian Government escaped with the mere fright.

582. *Secret Italian Societies in Paris.*—A society of Italians was formed in Paris, in 1829; and in 1830, French Liberals formed a society under the title of "Cosmopolitans," whose object was to revolutionise all the peoples of the Latin race, and form them into one grand confederacy. La Fayette was at its head, but the man who was the real leader of the movement was totally unknown to the public. Henry Misley seemed occupied only in the sale of the nitre and wheat of his native country, Modena, and afterwards was engaged in the construction of railways in Italy and Spain. But he was the intimate friend of Menotti, and the connecting link between the Italian Carbonari and the revolutionary movement in France. He was also active, from 1850 to 1852, in placing Louis Napoleon at the head of the French nation, co-operating with Lord Palmerston, who, as a Mason, was the great friend and protector of the European revolution, and was the first to recognise Louis Napoleon as Emperor of the French, not hesitating, to further his objects, to falsify despatches which had already received the royal signature. But when Garibaldi, in 1864, visited England, Lord Palmerston co-operated with Victor Emmanuel and Louis Napoleon in restraining the Italian patriot from coming in contact with the revolutionary leaders then in this country, lest he, in conjunction with them, should plan expeditions, which might have interfered with his (Lord Palmerston's) or the King of Italy's plans. Garibaldi was surrounded with a brilliant suite, and overwhelmed with official fêtes. Then Dr. Fergusson declared that Garibaldi's health demanded his immediate return to Italy. His intended visit to Paris was stopped by the Duke of Sutherland taking him in his yacht to the Mediterranean; but Mazzini informed Garibaldi of the scheme to keep him an honoured prisoner, and Garibaldi insisted at Malta on returning at once to Caprera.

583. *Mazzini and Young Italy.*—Joseph Mazzini, who sixty years ago was a prisoner in Fort Savona for revolutionary speeches and writings, may be looked upon as the chief instigator of modern secret societies in Italy having revolutionary tendencies. The independence and unity of their country, with Rome for its capital, of course were the objects of Young Italy. One of the earliest of these societies was that of the Apophasimenes, many of whom Mazzini drew over to his "Young Italy" association.

Here are some of the articles of the "Organisation of Young Italy":—1. The society is founded for the indispensable destruction of all the governments of the Peninsula, in order to form one single State with the republican government. 2. Fully aware of the horrible evils of absolute power, and the even worse results of constitutional monarchies, we must aim at establishing a republic, one and indivisible. 30. Those who refuse obedience to the orders of this secret society, or reveal its mysteries, die by the dagger without mercy. 31. The secret tribunal pronounces sentence, and appoints one or two affiliated members for its execution. 32. Who so refuses to perform such duty assigned to him, dies on the spot. 33. If the victim escapes, he shall be pursued, until struck by the avenging hand, were he on the bosom of his mother or in the temple of Christ. 34. Every secret tribunal is competent not only to judge guilty adepts, but to put to death any one it finds it necessary to condemn.—(Sig.) Mazzini.

We have seen, in the account of the Mafia (329), that Mazzini constantly recommended the use of the dagger—though he took good care to avoid personal danger; and, to give but one instance, that he did not hesitate to employ it, by proxy, was proved in the case of Signor Emiliani, who was assassinated, by Mazzini's order, which is still existing, signed by Mazzini, and countersigned by the secretary La Cecilia, in the streets of Rhodez, a town in the department of the Aveyron, seventy miles from Toulouse. Mazzini had come from Geneva on purpose to sit in judgment on Signor Emiliani, who was accused of having opposed the plans of the Mazzinists.

Committees were established in all parts of the Peninsula; the presses, not only of Italy, but also of Marseilles, London, and Switzerland, were largely employed to disseminate the views of the conspirators; and the police, though they considered themselves well informed, were always at fault. Thus Livio Zambeccari, a leading member, went from

Bologna to Naples, thence into Sicily, held interviews with the conspirators, called meetings, and returned to Bologna, whilst the police of Naples and Sicily knew nothing at all about it. General Antonini, under a feigned name, went to Sicily, passed himself off for a daguerreotypist, and lived in great intimacy with many of the officials without being suspected. A Piedmontese officer, who had fought in the Spanish and Portuguese revolutionary wars, arrived at Messina under a Spanish name, with letters of introduction from a Neapolitan general, which enabled him to visit and closely inspect the citadels, this being the object of his journey. Letters from Malta, addressed to the conspirators, were intercepted by the police, but recovered from them before they had read them, by the address and daring of the members of Young Italy. A thousand copies of a revolutionary programme, printed at Marseilles, were smuggled into Italy in a despatch addressed to the Minister Delcaretto. Though occasionally the correspondence fell into the hands of the authorities—as, for instance, on the 4th June 1832, the Custom-house officers of Genoa seized on board the steamer *Sully*, coming from Marseilles, a trunk full of old clothes, addressed to Mazzini's mother, in the false bottom of which were concealed a large number of letters addressed to members of Young Italy, revolutionary proclamations, lists of lodges, and instructions as to the proposed rising. Then the revolutionary correspondence was carried on by means of the official letters addressed to the Minister Santangelo, at Palermo. A well-known Spanish general, who was one of the conspirators, whose departure and object had been publicly announced in the French papers, went from Marseilles to Naples, and the police were unable to catch him. Italian and other Continental revolutionists in those days, and later on, received much moral support from Lord Palmerston, wherefore it was a saying of Austrian Conservatives—

> "If the devil has a son,
> Surely it's Lord Palmerston."

Panizzi also, a Carbonaro, exiled from Italy, and for many years Chief Librarian of the British Museum, was an ardent supporter of Italian unification.

584. *Mazzini, the Evil Genius of Italy.*—Gregory XVI. died in 1846. The Italians thought this the favourable moment for general action, and the revolutions of Rome, Naples, Palermo, Florence, Milan, Parma, Modena, and Venice followed in quick succession. But they failed, and their failure—

notably that of the operations of Charles Albert—was due to the political intrigues carried on by the Mazzinists, who tampered with the fidelity and discipline of the Sardinian army. Mazzini, in those days, ruined the national cause, and rejoiced in that ruin, because he was not the leader of the enterprise. Later on, his Roman triumvirate led to the French occupation of Rome, and to the return to that city of Italy's greatest curse, the pope. Many of Garibaldi's noble efforts were thwarted or frustrated by Mazzini's revolutionary fanaticism; and yet—such is the mockery of Fate!—that selfish demagogue who, to gratify his political crotchets, sent hundreds of misguided youths to a violent death, has a statue in the Palazzo del Municipio at Genoa, an honour which posterity will certainly rescind. Like O'Donovan Rossa, he planned his murderous schemes at a safe distance, taking care never to imperil himself personally, and if danger came near, to run away. In the expedition to Savoy in January 1834, Mazzini at Carra brandished his rifle to rush to the combat, but was conveniently seized by a fit and carried across the border in safety. In 1833 Louis Mariotti (a pseudo-name), provided with a passport and money by Mazzini, attempted Charles Albert's life; shortly after another man made the same attempt—he had a dagger which was proved to have belonged to Mazzini: this hero was one of the first to take flight when Radetzky entered Milan. When in that city he thwarted the endeavours of the royal commissioners to procure men and money, and fed the republican animosities towards the Piedmontese in every part of Italy. The king knew of the Mazzinian manœuvres, and therefore did not make peace after his defeat, for the republicans would have said he had thrown up the cause of Italy.

585. *Assassination of Rossi.*—This adventurer was born at Carrara, and began his public career as a member of the provisional government of Bologna, when Murat attempted the conquest of Italy. At his master's defeat, he fled into Switzerland, where the Diet entrusted him with the revision of the pact of 1815; in the changes he proposed, radicalism was carried to its utmost limits, and aimed at the overthrow of the Federal Government. With such antecedents, it was but natural that Rossi became a member of Young Italy; though Mazzini placed no faith in him, for he knew that the ci-devant Carbonaro had no fixed political convictions. For this once violent demagogue, having, in the July revolution of 1830, assisted Louis Philippe to ascend the French throne,

accepted from him the title of count and peer of France, and was sent as ambassador to Rome. Though he had once belonged to the secret societies of Italy, and by Gregory XVI. been designated as the political renegade, he eventually accepted office under Pius IX., who in 1848, a short time before his flight from Rome, had no one to appeal to, to form a new ministry, but this very adventurer, who did so by keeping three of the portfolios in his own hands, viz., those of Finances, Interior, and Police, whilst the other ministers mutually detested each other; a fact from which Rossi expected to derive additional advantages. His political programme, which excluded all national participation or popular influence, filled Young Italy with rage. At a meeting of Young Italy, held at the Hôtel Feder at Turin, the verdict went forth: Death to the false Carbonaro! By a prearranged scheme the lot to kill Rossi fell on Canino, a leading man of the association, not that it was expected that he would do the deed himself, but his position and wealth were assumed to give him the most ready means of commanding daggers. A Mazzinian society assembled twice a week at the Roman theatre, Capranica. At a meeting of one hundred and sixteen members, it was decided, at the suggestion of Mazzini, that forty should be chosen by lot to protect the assassin. Three others were elected by the same process—they were called *feratori;* one of them was to slay the minister.

The 15th of November 1848, the day fixed upon for the opening of the Roman Chambers, was also that of Rossi's death. He received several warnings, but ridiculed them. Even in going to the Chancellerie, he was addressed by a priest, who whispered to him, "Do not go out; you will be assassinated." "They cannot terrify me," he replied; "the cause of the Pope is the cause of God," which is thought by some to have been a very noble answer, but which was simply ridiculous, because not true, and was, moreover, vile hypocrisy on the part of a man with his antecedents. When Rossi arrived at the Chancellerie, the conspirators were already awaiting him there. One of them, as the minister ascended the staircase, struck him on the side with the hilt of a dagger, and as Rossi turned round to look at his assailant, another assassin plunged his dagger into Rossi's throat. The minister soon after expired in the apartments of Cardinal Gozzoli, to which he had been carried. At that very instant one of the chiefs of Young Italy at Bologna, looking at his watch, said, "A great deed has just been

accomplished; we no longer need fear Rossi." The estimation in which Rossi was held by the Chamber cannot have been great, for the deputies received the news of his death with considerable *sang-froid;* and at night a torchlight procession paraded the streets of Rome, carrying aloft the dagger which had done the deed, whilst thousands of voices exclaimed, "Blessed be the hand that struck Rossi! Blessed be the dagger that struck him!" A pamphlet, published at Rome in 1850, contains a letter from Mazzini, in which occur the words: "The assassination of Rossi was necessary and just."

In the first edition I added to the foregoing account the following note:—

"*P.S.*—Since writing the above I have met with documents which induce me to suspend my judgment as to who were the real authors of Rossi's assassination. From what I have since learnt it would seem that the clerical party, and not the Carbonari, planned and executed the deed. Persons accused of being implicated in the murder were kept in prison for more than two years without being brought to trial, and then quietly got away. Rossi, shortly before his death, had levied contributions to the extent of four million scudi on clerical property, and was known to plan further schemes to reduce the influence of the Church. But the materials for writing the history of those times are not yet accessible."

More than twenty years after the above was written, now in 1896, the question is as much involved in doubt as ever. True, one Santa Constantini, a radical fanatic, as he was called on his conviction, has been proved to have struck the fatal blow, but as to who instigated him to do the deed, opinions are still divided; the secret has not oozed out. The reasons for attributing the death of Rossi to the Carbonari or the Jesuits are of equal weight on both sides.

The assassination of Rossi and the commotions following it, led, as is well known, to the pope's flight to Gaeta. During his absence from Rome, Mazzini was the virtual ruler of that city, which was during his short reign the scene of the greatest disorders, of robberies, and assassinations. But Rome gained nothing by the restoration of the pope through French arms; the papalians, when once more in power, raged as wildly against the peaceful inhabitants as the Mazzinists had done. The Holy Father personally, and the cardinals and other dignitaries of the Church, caused thousands of the inhabitants of Rome to be cast into noisome

dungeons, many of them underground, where they were starved or killed by bad treatment, or after long-delayed trials condemned to the most unjust punishments. I could give numerous instances, did they enter into the scope of this work. The subsequent action of Carbonarism, its renewal of the war against the pope, the collapse of the latter's army, largely composed of Irish loafers, who entered Rome in potato sacks, with a hole for the head and two for the arms, and his final overthrow, are matters of public history.

586. *Sicilian Societies.*—Sicily did not escape the general influence. In 1827 there was formed a secret society in favour of the Greek revolution, the "Friends of Greece," who, however, also occupied themselves with the affairs of Italy. There was also the "Secret Society of the Five," founded ten years before the above, which prepared the insurrection of the Greeks. In Messina was formed the lodge of the "Patriotic Reformers," founded on Carbonarism, which corresponded with lodges at Florence, Milan, and Turin, by means of musical notes. But the Sicilian Carbonari did not confine themselves to political aims: to them was due in a great measure the security of the roads throughout the island, which before their advent had been terribly infested by malefactors of every kind, who almost daily committed outrages against peaceful travellers.

587. *The Consistorials.*—But the conspirators against thrones and the Church were not to have it all their own way; clerical associations were formed to counteract their efforts. The sect of the "Consistorials" aimed at the preservation of feudal and theocratic dominion. The rich and ambitious patricians of Rome and other Italian states belonged to it; Tabot, an ex-Jesuit and Confessor to the Holy Father, was the ruling spirit. It is said that this society proposed to give to the Pope, Tuscany; the island of Elba and the Marches, to the King of Naples; Parma, Piacenza, and a portion of Lombardy, with the title of King, to the Duke of Modena; the rest of Lombardy, Massa Carrara, and Lucca, to the King of Sardinia; and to Russia, which, from jealousy of Austria, favoured these secret designs, either Ancona, or Genoa, or Civita Vecchia, to turn it into their Gibraltar. From documents found in the office of the Austrian governor at Milan, it appears that the Duke of Modena, in 1818, presided at a general meeting of the Consistorials, and that Austria was aware of the existence and intentions of the society.

588. *The Roman Catholic Apostolic Congregation.*—It was formed at the period of the imprisonment of Pius VII. The members recognised each other by a yellow silk ribbon with five knots; the initiated into the lower degrees heard of nothing but acts of piety and charity; the secrets of the society, known to the higher ranks, could only be discussed between two; the lodges were composed of five members; the password was "Eleutheria," *i.e.* Liberty; and the secret word "Ode," *i.e.* Independence. This sect arose in France, among the Neo-catholics, led by Lammenais, who already, in the treatise on "Religious Indifference," had shown that fervour which afterwards was to carry him so far. Thence it passed into Lombardy, but met with but little success, and the Austrians succeeded in obtaining the patents which were given to the initiated, two Latin texts divided by this sign $\frac{C \mid C}{A \mid R}$, meaning Congregazione Catholica Apostolica Romana, and their statutes and signs of recognition. Though devoted to the independence of Italy, the Congregation was not factious; for it bound the destinies of nations to the full triumph of the Roman Catholic religion. Narrow in scope, and restricted in numbers, it neither possessed nor, perhaps, claimed powers to subvert the political system.

589. *Sanfedisti.*—This society was founded at the epoch of the suppression of the Jesuits. There existed long before then in the Papal States a society called the "Pacific" or "Holy Union," which was established to defend religion, the privileges and jurisdiction of Rome, and the temporal power of the popes. Now from this society they derived the appellation of the Society of the Holy Faith, or *Sanfedisti.* The way in which the existence of the society was discovered, was curious. A friend of De Witt (555) during carnival time in 1821, entered a shop in the Contrada di Po at Turin to purchase a costume. He was examining a cassock, when he noticed a pocket in it, containing some papers. He bought it and took it home. The papers gave the statutes, signs, passwords, &c., of the Sanfedisti. The owner of the cassock, one of the highest initiates, had been struck by apoplexy, and his belongings had been sold. Finding themselves discovered, the Sanfedisti changed the password and sign, making, instead of the former one, an imperceptible cross with the left hand on the left breast. They had been in existence long before 1821; in France they conspired against Napoleon, who sent about twenty of them to prison at Modena, whence they were released by

Francis IV. The supposed chiefs, after 1815, were the Duke of Modena and Cardinal Consalvi. The first had frequent secret interviews with the cardinals, and even the King of Sardinia was said to be in the plot. Large sums also are said to have been contributed by the chiefs to carry on the war against Austria, which, however, is doubtful. Some attribute to this society the project of dividing Italy into three kingdoms, expelling the Austrians and the King of Naples; others, the intention of dividing it into five, viz., Sardinia, Modena, Lucca, Rome, and Naples; and yet others—and these latter probably are most in the right—the determination to perpetuate the *status quo*, or to re-establish servitude in its most odious forms. They also intrigued with Russia, though at certain times they would not have objected to subject all Italy politically to the Austrian eagle, and clerically to the keys of St. Peter. Their machinations at home led to much internal dissension and bloodshed; their chief opponents were the Carbonari. At Faenza the two parties fought against one another under the names of "Cats" and "Dogs." They caused quite as much mischief and bloodshed as any of the bands of brigands that infested the country, and their code was quite as sanguinary as that of any more secular society. They swore with terrible oaths to pursue and slay the impious liberals, even to their children, without showing pity for age or sex. Under the pretence of defending the faith, they indulged in the grossest licentiousness and most revolting atrocity. In the Papal States they were under the direction of the inquisitors and bishops, who, especially under Leo XII., gave them the greatest encouragement; in the kingdom of Naples, under the immediate orders of the police. They spread all over Germany, where Prince Hohenloh-Schillingsfürst, Bishop of Sardicä, protected them. Prince Julius de Polignac was head of the society in France.

VI

NAPOLEONIC AND ANTI-NAPOLEONIC SOCIETIES

590. *The Philadelphians.*—As early as the year 1780 a society of about sixty young men had formed at Besançon a masonic lodge under the above name. Colonel James Joseph Oudet, who, though he served under Napoleon, hated him, and had for some time been looking out for dupes to assist him in bringing back to France the detested Bourbon race, whose secret agent he was, pitched on the members of that lodge, still composed of enthusiastic, but inexperienced, youths, as suitable for his purpose. Having been initiated into nearly every secret society in Europe, Oudet soon invested the Philadelphians with all the machinery of one on a more elaborate scale than they had hitherto thought necessary. According to the approved pattern, every member assumed a pseudonym; Oudet called himself Philopœmen; General Moreau, who, as we shall see, succeeded him as chief of the Order, took the name of Fabius, and so on. Oudet further created a dignity, sovereign, monarchical and absolute, with which, of course, he invested himself, and under which were two degrees: the first, that of Frank Federate, and the second, that of Frank Judge; this second degree comprehended the complement of all the secrets, up to the secret belonging, and known to the supreme chief alone. But to give his adepts something to think and talk about, he told them the establishment of a Sequanese (from Sequana, Seine) republic was his object, whilst he really intended the total overthrow of Napoleon. He introduced the Philadelphian rites into the army, simultaneously into the 9th, 68th, and 69th regiments of the line, into the 20th of dragoons, the 15th of light infantry, and from thence into all the army. Bonaparte heard of the society, and suspected Oudet, who was sent back to his corps, which then occupied the garrison of St. Martin, in the Isle of Rhé. General Moreau took his

place, but shortly after had to resign it again to Oudet, he, Moreau, having been implicated in the conspiracy of Pichegru. Before then the conspiracy of Arena to assassinate Bonaparte had been discovered, and a book, seized among the papers of Arena, and entitled "The Turk and the French Soldier," certainly was written by Oudet. The Philadelphians next attempted to seize Bonaparte while traversing the forests and mountains of the Jura attended by a very small retinue; but the attempt failed, one of the Order having betrayed the plot. Oudet was killed at the battle of Wagram (1809), and with his death the society collapsed.

591. *The Rays.*—During the power of Napoleon, he was opposed by secret societies in Italy, as well as in France. But his fall, which to many seemed a revival of liberty, to others appeared as the ruin of Italy; hence they sought to re-establish his rule, or at least to save Italian nationality from the wreck. The "Rays" were an Anti-Napoleonic society, composed of officials from all parts, brought together by common dangers and the adventures of the field. They had lodges at Milan and Bologna. The Sanfedisti also were an Anti-Napoleonic society (589).

592. *Secret League in Tirol.*—A very powerful association against Napoleon was in the year 1809 formed in Tirol. This country had by the treaty of Presburg (1805) been ceded by Austria to Bavaria. But the Tirolese, strongly attached to their former master, resented the transfer, and when in 1808 a renewal of the war between France and Austria was imminent, secret envoys, among whom was the already famous Andreas Hofer, were sent to Vienna to concert measures for reuniting the Tirol with Austria. But in consequence of the battle of Wagram, and the truce of Znaim, which followed it, Tirol was again surrendered to French troops. Then the Tirolese, betrayed by Austria, formed a number of secret societies among themselves, to drive out the French. The results of these associations are matters of history; but to show how the secret societies worked, and tested the character and loyalty of some of the leading members, the following incident, communicated by the hero of the adventure, may be mentioned. He had once enjoyed Napoleon's confidence, but having unjustly become suspected by him, he was obliged to take refuge in the most alpine part of the Austrian provinces, in Tirol. There he formed connections with one of the societies for the overthrow of Napoleon, and went through a simple ceremony of initiation. Two months

elapsed after this without his hearing any more of the society, when at last he received a letter asking him to repair to a remote place, where he was to meet a number of brothers assembled. He went, but found no one. He received three more similar summonses, but always with the same result. He received a fifth, and went, but saw no one. He was just retiring, disgusted with the often-repeated deception, when he heard frightful cries, as from a person in distress. He hastened towards the spot whence they proceeded, and found a bleeding body lying on the ground, whilst he saw three horsemen making their escape in the opposite direction, who, however, fired three shots at him, but missing him. He was about to examine the body lying at his feet when a detachment of armed force, attracted by the same cries, darted from the forest; the victim on the ground indicated our hero as his assailant. He was seized, imprisoned, accused by witnesses who declared they had seen him commit the murder—for the body of the person attacked had been removed as dead—and he was sentenced to be executed the same night, by torchlight. He was led into a courtyard, surrounded by ruinous buildings, full of spectators. He had already ascended the scaffold, when an officer on horseback, and wearing the insignia of the magistracy, appeared, announcing that an edict had gone forth granting a pardon to any man condemned to death for any crime whatever, who could give to justice the words of initiation and signs of recognition of a secret society, which the officer named; it was the one into which the ci-devant officer of Napoleon had recently been received. He was questioned if he knew anything about it; he denied all knowledge of the society, and being pressed, became angry and demanded death. Immediately he was greeted as a brave and faithful brother, for all those present were members of the secret society, and had knowingly co-operated in this rather severe test.

593. *Societies in Favour of Napoleon.*—Many societies in favour of the restoration of Napoleon were formed, such as the "Black Needle," the "Knights of the Sun," "Universal Regeneration," &c. They were generally composed of the soldiers of the great captain, who were condemned to inactivity, and looked upon the glory of their chief as something in which they had a personal interest. Their aim was to place Napoleon at the head of confederated Italy, under the title of "Emperor of Rome, by the will of the people and the grace of God." The proposal reached him early in the year 1815. Napoleon accepted it like a man who on

being shipwrecked perceives a piece of wood that may save him, and which he will cast into the fire when he has reached the land. The effects of these plots are known—Napoleon's escape from Elba, and the reign of a hundred days.

According to secret documents, the machinations of the Bonapartists continued even in 1842, the leaders being Peter Bonaparte, Lady Christina Stuart, the daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, the Marchioness Pepoli, the daughter of the Countess Lipona (Caroline Murat), and Count Rasponi. Then appeared the sect of the "Italian Confederates," first called "Platonica," which in 1842 extended into Spain. Another sect, the "Illuminati, Vindicators or Avengers of the People," arose in the Papal States; also those of "Regeneration," of "Italian Independence," of the "Communists," the "Exterminators," &c. Tuscany also had its secret societies—that of the "Thirty-one," the "National Knights," the "Revolutionary Club," &c. A "Communistic Society" was formed at Milan; but none of these sects did more than excite a little curiosity for a time. Scarcely anything of their ritual is known.

594. *The Illuminati.*—This society, not to be confounded with an earlier one of the same name (351 *et seq.*), was founded in France, but meeting with too many obstacles in that country, it spread all over Italy. Its object was to restore the Napoleon family to the French throne, by making Marie-Louise regent, until the King of Rome could be set on the throne, and by bringing Napoleon himself from St. Helena, to command the army. The society entered into correspondence with Las Casas, who was to come to Bologna, the chief lodge, and arrange plans; but the scheme, as need scarcely be mentioned, never came to anything.

595. *Various other Societies.*—At Padua a society existed whose members called themselves *Selvaggi*, "Savages," because the German democrat, Marr, had said, that man must return to the savage state to accomplish something great. They cut neither their nails nor their hair, cleaned neither their clothes nor boots; the medical students who were members of the sect surreptitiously brought portions of human bodies from the dissecting-rooms of the hospitals to their meetings, over which the initiated performed wild and hideous ceremonies. Not being able to obtain human blood for the purpose, they purchased bullocks' blood in which to drink death to tyrants. One of the members having overgorged himself was found dead in the street. The medical examination of his body led to the discovery of the cause,

and by the police inquiry resulting therefrom, to the exposure of the society, their statutes, oaths, and ceremonies.

The members of the *Unità Italiana*, discovered at Naples in 1850, recognised each other by a gentle rubbing of noses. They swore on a dagger with a triangular blade, with the inscription, "Fraternity—Death to Traitors—Death to Tyrants," faithfully to observe all the laws of the society, on pain, in case of want of faith, to have their hearts pierced with the dagger. Those who executed the vengeance of the society called themselves the Committee of Execution. In 1849 the grand council of the sect established a "Committee of Stabbers," *comitato de' pugnalatori*. The heads of the society were particular as to whom they admitted into it; the statutes say, "no ex-Jesuits, thieves, coiners, and other infamous persons are to be initiated." The ex-Jesuits are placed in good company truly!

In 1849 a society was discovered at Ancona calling itself the "Company of Death," and many assassinations, many of them committed in broad daylight in the streets of the town, were traced to its members. The "Society of Slayers," *Ammazzatori*, at Leghorn; the "Infernal Society," at Sinigaglia; the "Company of Assassins," *Sicarii*, at Faenza; the "Terrorists" of Bologna, were associations of the same stamp. The "Barbers of Mazzini," at Rome, made it their business to "remove" priests who had rendered themselves particularly obnoxious. Another Bolognese society was that of the "Italian Conspiracy of the Sons of Death," whose object was the liberation of Italy from foreign sway.

596. *The Accoltellatori.*—A secret society, non-political, was discovered, and many of its members brought to trial, at Ravenna, in 1874. Its existence had long been surmised, but the executive did not dare to interfere; some private persons, indeed, tried to bring the assassins to justice, but wherever they succeeded a speedy vengeance was sure to follow. To one shopkeeper who had been particularly active a notice was sent that his life was forfeited, and the same night a placard was posted up upon the shutters of his shop announcing that the establishment was to be sold, as the proprietor was going away. In many cases there were witnesses to the crimes, and yet they dared not interfere nor give evidence. One of the gang at last turned traitor; he gave the explanation of several "mysterious disappearances," and the names of the murderers. The gang had become too numerous, and amongst the number there were

members whose fidelity was suspected. It was resolved to sacrifice them. They were watched, set upon and murdered by their fellow-accomplices. This society was known as the *Accoltellatori*, literally "knifers"—cut-throats. It originally consisted of twelve members only, who used to meet in the Café Mazzavillani—a very appropriate name; *mazza* means a club or bludgeon, and *villano*, villainous—at Ravenna, where the fate of their victims was decided. The trial ended in most of the members being condemned to penal servitude.

VII

FRENCH SOCIETIES

597. *Various Societies after the Restoration.*—One would think that, according to the "philosophical" historians, no nation ought to have been more content and happy, after being delivered from their tyrant Napoleon, than the French. But, in accordance with what I said in sect. 519, no nation had more reason to be dissatisfied and unhappy through the restoration of a king "by grace of God" and "right divine." Draconian statutes were promulgated by the Chambers, the mere tools of Louis XVIII., which led to the formation of a secret society called the "Associated Patriots," whose chief scenes of operation were in the south of France. But Government had its spies everywhere; many members of the society were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Three leaders, Pleignier, a writing-master, Carbonneau, a leather-cutter, and Tolleron, an engraver, were sentenced to death, led to the place of execution with their faces concealed by black veils, as parricides were formerly executed, and before their heads were cut off, their right hands were severed from their arms—for had they not raised them against their father, the king? The conspiracy of the Associated Patriots collapsed. But other societies arose. In 1820 the society of the "Friends of Truth," consisting of medical students and shopmen, was established in Paris, but was soon suppressed by the Government. The leading members made their escape to Italy, and on their return to France founded a Carbonaro society, the leadership of which was given to General Lafayette. It made two attempts to overthrow the Government, one at Belfort, and another at La Rochelle, but both were unsuccessful, and the Carbonaro society was dissolved. The society of the "Shirtless," founded by a Frenchman of the name of Manuel, who invoked Sampson, as the symbol of strength, had but a very short existence. That of the "Spectres meeting in a Tomb," which existed in 1822, and whose object was the overthrow of

the Bourbons, also came to a speedy end. The "New Reform of France," and the "Provinces," which were probably founded in 1820, only admitted members already initiated into Carbonarism, Freemasonry, the European Patriots, or the Greeks in Solitude. A mixture of many sects, they condensed the hatred of many ages and many orders against tyranny, and prescribed the following oath: "I, M. N., promise and swear to be the eternal enemy of tyrants, to entertain undying hatred against them, and, when opportunity offers, to slay them." In their succinct catechism were the following passages: "Who art thou?" "Thy friend."—"How knowest thou me?" "By the weight pressing on thy brow, on which I read written in letters of blood, To conquer or die."—"What wilt thou?" "Destroy the thrones and raise up gibbets."—"By what right?" "By that of nature."—"For what purpose?" "To acquire the glorious name of citizen."—"And wilt thou risk thy life?" "I value life less than liberty."

Another sect was that of the "New French Liberals," which existed but a short time. It was composed of but few members; they, however, were men of some standing, chiefly such as had occupied high positions under Napoleon. They looked to America for assistance. They wore a small black ribbon attached to their watches, with a gold seal, a piece of coral, and an iron or steel ring. The ribbon symbolised the eternal hatred of the free for oppressors; the coral, their American hopes; the ring, the weapon to destroy their enemies; and the gold seal, abundance of money as a means of success.

After the July revolution in 1830, the students of the Quartier Latin formed the society of "Order and Progress," each student being, in furtherance of these objects, provided with a rifle and fifty cartridges. And if they nevertheless did not distinguish themselves, they afforded the Parisians a new sensation. About three o'clock on the afternoon of the 4th January 1831, the booming of the great bell of Notre Dame was heard, and one of the towers of the cathedral was seen to be on fire. The police, who, though forewarned of the intended attempt, had taken no precautionary measures, speedily made their way into the building, put out the fire, and arrested six individuals, young men, nineteen or twenty years old, and their leader, a M. Considère. The young men were acquitted, Considère was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. And thus ended this farcical insurrection.

Another association, called the "Society of Schools," ad-

vocated the abolition of the universities and the throwing open of all instruction to the public gratuitously. The "Constitutional Society," directed by a man who had powerfully supported the candidature of the Duke of Orleans, Cauchois-Lemaire, insisted on the suppression of monopolies, the more equal levy of taxes, electoral reform, and the abolition of the dignity of the peerage. The "Friends of the People" was another political society, one section of which, called the "Rights of Man," adopted for its text-book the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" by Robespierre, and drew to itself many minor societies, too numerous, and in most cases too unimportant, to be mentioned. Their efforts ended in the useless insurrection of Lyons on the 13th and 14th April 1834.

598. *The Acting Company.*—But a separate corps of the Rights of Man, selected from among all the members, was formed and called the Acting Company, under the command of Captain Kersausie, a rich nobleman with democratic predilections. On certain days the loungers on the boulevards would notice a crowd of silent promenaders whom an unknown object seemed to draw together. No one understood the matter except the police; the chief of the Acting Company was reviewing his forces. Accompanied by one or two adjutants he would accost the chief of a group, whom he recognised by a sign, hold a short conversation with him, and pass on to another; the police agents would follow, see him enter a carriage, which was kept in waiting, drive up to a house which had a back way out, whence he would gain one of his own—for he had several—residences, and keep indoors for three or four days.

The Rights of Man society arranged the plot, proposed by Fieschi, to assassinate the king, Louis Philippe, on the 28th July 1835. Delahodde, the police spy, in his Memoirs, says that by the *imprudence* of one of the conspirators, Boireau, the police obtained a hint of what was intended, but that it was so vague, that it could not be acted on. This is evidently said to screen the police, for on the trial of Fieschi and the other conspirators, it was proved that on the morning of the attempt Boireau had sent a letter—doing which was not a mere *imprudence*—to the Prefect of Police, giving full information as to the means to be employed, the individuals engaged in the plot, and the very house in which the infernal machine was placed—all which was more than a mere *hint*—but the letter was thrown aside by the Prefect as not worth reading! The failure of the

attempt broke up the society of the Rights of Man, but the remnants thereof formed themselves in the same year into a new society, called the "Families," under the leadership of Blanqui and Barbès. Admission to this new society was attended with all the mummery and mystification considered necessary to form an orthodox initiation. Its object, of course, was the overthrow of the monarchical government and the establishment of a republic; but the society having in 1836 been discovered and suppressed, many of its leaders being sent to prisons, the members who remained at liberty reconstituted themselves into a new society, called the "Seasons," into the meeting-place of which the candidate was led blindfolded, and swore death to all kings, aristocrats, and other oppressors of mankind, and to sacrifice his own life, if needful, in the cause. On the 12th May the "Seasons," led by Blanqui and Barbès, rose in insurrection, but were defeated by the Government. Blanqui was sentenced to be transported, and Barbès condemned to death; the king, however, commuted the sentence of the latter to imprisonment. After a time the "Seasons" were reorganised, and about 1840, Communism first began to be active in Paris, and various attempts were made against the king's life. Considering the number of police spies in the pay of Government, it is surprising that secret societies should have continued to flourish, and should at last have succeeded in overthrowing the throne of Louis Philippe. The spies would get themselves introduced into the secret societies, and then betray them. One of the most notorious of these spies was Lucien Delahodde, who sent his reports to Government under the pseudonym of "Pierre." When, in consequence of the revolution of 1848, "Citizen" Caussidière became Prefect of Police, and overhauled the secret archives of that department, he found voluminous papers, containing more than a thousand informations, signed "Pierre," proving that the writer had got hold of all the secrets of the "Rights of Man," the "Families" (though strong suspicion rests on Blanqui of having supplied the Minister of the Interior with a secret report on the latter, when under sentence of death), the "Seasons," and sold them to the Government. But who was this Pierre? Unluckily for himself Lucien Delahodde, or Pierre himself, wrote a letter to Caussidière, asking to be employed in the police. Caussidière was struck by the writing, compared it with that of the secret reports, and found it to be identical. Delahodde was invited to meet Caussidière at the Luxembourg, where he was made

to confess, and declare in writing, that he was the author of all the reports signed "Pierre." Some members of the provisional government were for shooting him, but he got off with a few months' imprisonment in the Conciergerie. On recovering his liberty Delahodde went to London, where he published a small journal, attacking the Republic and the Republicans.

599. *The Communistic* societies of the *Travailleurs Égalitaires* and *Communistes Révolutionnaires* introduced some of their members into the provisional government that preceded the accession of Louis Napoleon; and their influence even to the present day is too notorious to need specification here. The "Mountaineers," or "Reds of the Mountain," a revival of the name given during the French Revolution to the leaders of the Jacobins, was one of the societies that brought about the events of 1848. According to the *Univers* of the 2nd February 1852, they swore on a dagger, "I swear by this steel, the symbol of honour, to combat and destroy all political, religious, and social tyrannies." Secret societies continued to play at hide-and-seek after the accession of Louis Napoleon, but were not immediately put down, though he issued the most severe prohibitions against them, and the members who could be apprehended were condemned to transportation to Cayenne or Algiers; they continued to exist for some years after the *coup d'état*.

600. *Causes of Secret Societies in France.*—The succession of secret associations against the government of Louis Philippe is not to be wondered at. The king himself was solely bent on the aggrandisement of his own dynasty, either by foreign marriages, or conferring on the members of his own family every office in the state which could secure the paramount power in directing the destinies of France. The princes had re-established the orgies of the Regency; the court, the ministers, the aristocrats, the inferior functionaries made the public offices and national institutions the objects of shameful corruption; the deputies speculated with their political functions; peers of France patronised gambling in the funds and railway scrip; princes, ministers, ambassadors, and other personages in high positions were constantly making their appearance in the assize courts and found guilty of swindling, forgery, rape, and murder; commercial and manufacturing interests were fearfully depressed, hence the frequent risings of the working classes; hence secret associations to put an end to this rotten condition of society.

VIII

POLISH SOCIETIES

601. *Polish Patriotism.*—It is the fashion to express great sympathy with the Poles and a corresponding degree of indignation against Russia, Austria, and Prussia; the Poles are looked upon as a patriotic race, oppressed by their more powerful neighbours. But all this rests on mere misapprehension and ignorance of facts. The Polish people under their native rulers were abject serfs. The aristocracy were everything, and possessed everything; the people possessed nothing, not even political or civil rights, when these clashed with the whims or interests of the nobles. It is these last whose power has been overthrown—it is they who make war on and conspire against Russia, to recover (as is admitted by some of their own writers) their ancient privileges over their own countrymen, who blindly, like most nations, allow themselves to be slaughtered for the benefit of those who only seek again to rivet on the limbs of their dupes the chains which have been broken. It is like the French and Spaniards and Neapolitans fighting against their deliverer Napoleon, to bring back the Bourbon tyrants, and with them the people's political nullity, clerical intolerance, *lettres de cachet*, and the Inquisition. How John Bull has been gulled by these Polish patriots! Many of them were criminals of all kinds, who succeeded in breaking out of prison, or escaping before they could be captured; and, managing to come over to this country, have here called themselves political fugitives, victims of Russian persecution, and have lived luxuriously on the credulity of Englishmen! Moreover, the documents published by Adolf Beer from the Vienna, and by Max Duncker from the Berlin archives (1874), show that the statement of Frederick the Great, that the partition of Poland was the only way of avoiding a great European war, was perfectly true.

602. *Various Revolutionary Sects.*—One of the first societies formed in Poland to organise the revolutionary forces of the country was that of the "True Poles"; but, consisting of

few persons only, it did not last long. In 1818 another sect arose, that of "National Freemasonry," which borrowed the rites, degrees, and language of Freemasonry, but aimed at national independence. The society was open to persons of all classes, but sought chiefly to enlist soldiers and officials, so as to turn their technical knowledge to account in the day of the struggle. But though numerous, the society lasted only a few years; for disunion arose among the members, and it escaped total dissolution only by transformation. It altered its rites and ceremonies, and henceforth called itself the "Scythers," in remembrance of the revolution of 1794, in which whole regiments, armed with scythes, had gone into battle. They met in 1821 at Warsaw, and drew up a new revolutionary scheme, adopting at the same time the new denomination of "Patriotic Society." In the meanwhile the students of the University of Wilna had formed themselves into a secret society; which, however, was discovered by the Russian Government and dissolved. In 1822 the Patriotic Society combined with the masonic rite of "Modern Templars," founded in Poland by Captain Maiewski; to the three rites of symbolical masonry was added a fourth, in which the initiated swore to do all in his power towards the liberation of his country. These combined societies brought about the insurrection of 1830. In 1834 was established the society of "Young Poland"; one of its most distinguished members and chiefs being Simon Konarski, who had already distinguished himself in the insurrection of 1830. He then made his escape, and in order better to conceal himself learned the art of watchmaking. Having returned to Poland and joined "Young Poland," he was discovered in 1838, and subjected to the torture to extort from him the names of his accomplices. But no revelations could be obtained from him, and he bore his sufferings with such courage that the military governor of Wilna exclaimed, "This is a man of iron!" A Russian officer offered to assist him in escaping, and being detected, was sent to the Caucasian army for life. Konarski was executed in 1839, the people tearing his clothes to pieces to possess a relic of him. The chains he had been loaded with were formed into rings and worn by his admirers. Men like these redeem the sins of many so-called "Polish patriots."

603. *Secret National Government.*—Some time before the outbreak of the Crimean war a secret national government was formed in Poland, of course with the object of organising

an insurrection against Russia. Little was known for a long time about their proceedings. Strange stories were circulated of midnight meetings in subterranean passages; of traitors condemned by courts composed of masked and hooded judges, from whose sentence there was no appeal and no escape; of domiciliary visits from which neither the palace nor the hovel was exempt; and of corpses found nightly in the most crowded streets of the city, or on the loneliest wastes of the open country, the dagger which had killed the victim bearing a label stamped with the well-known device of the insurrectionary committee. So perfectly was the secret of the modern Vehmgericht kept that the Russian police were completely baffled in their attempts to discover its members. At that period the Poles were divided into two parties, the "whites" and the "reds"; the former representing the aristocratic, the latter the democratic element of the nation. Each had its own organisation. The whites were mostly in favour of strictly constitutional resistance; the reds were for open rebellion and an immediate appeal to arms. But a union was brought about between the two parties in consequence of the conscription introduced by Russia into Poland in 1863, which set fire to the train of rebellion that had so long been preparing. But Langiewicz, the Polish leader, having been defeated, the movements of the insurgents in the open field were arrested; though the rebellion was prolonged in other ways, chiefly with a view of inducing the Western Powers to interfere in behalf of Poland. But these naturally thought that as the Polish people, the peasantry, had taken very little share in the insurrection, and as Alexander II. had really introduced a series of reforms which materially improved the position of his Polish subjects, there was no justification for the outbreak; and therefore justice was allowed to take its course. Subsequent attempts at insurrection, with a view to re-establish the independence of Poland, were defeated by the action of Italian and other revolutionary sects, because, as Petrucelli della Gatina declared in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin in 1864, the Poles, being Roman Catholics, would, immediately on their emancipation, throw themselves at the feet of the pope and offer him their swords, blood, and fortunes. These revolutionists are far more astute than our beloved diplomatists.

IX

THE OMLADINA

604. *The Panslavists.*—The desire of the Sclavonic races, comprising Bohemians, Moravians, Silesians, Poles, Croats, Servians, and Dalmatians, to be united into one grand confederation, is of ancient date. It was encouraged by Russia as early as the days of Catherine II. and of Alexander I., who, as well as their successors, hoped to secure for themselves the hegemony in this confederation. But the Sclavonians dreaded the supremacy of Russia, and in the earlier days the Sclavonian writers subject to Austria wished to give the proposed Panslavist movement the appearance more of an intellectual and literary, than of a political and social league. But the European revolution of 1848 infused a purely political tendency into Panslavist ideas, which already in June of the above year led to a Sclavonic-democratic insurrection at Prague, which, however, was speedily put down, Prince Windischgrätz bombarding the town during two days. The further progress of the Panslavistic movement is matter of public history; but a society arose out of the Sclavonic races, whose doings have of late been brought into prominence; this society is the Omladina. The exact date of the origin of this society is not at present known; probably it arose at the time when the Italian party of action, led by Mazzini, about 1863, attempted, by assisting the so-called national party of Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, to cripple Austria in Italy, and so render the recovery of the Venetian territory more easy. Simon Deutsch, a Jew, who had been expelled from Austria for his revolutionary ideas, and afterwards, on the same grounds, from Constantinople, who was the friend of Gambetta, an agent of the International, and of "Young Turkey," was one of the most active members of the society, whose inner organisation was known as the Society Slovanska Liga, the Slav Limetree. This latter, however, did not attract the attention of the authorities till 1876, when its chief, Miletich, a member of the Hungarian

Diet, was arrested at Neusalz. But the society continued to exist, and occasionally gave signs of life, as, for instance, in 1882, when it seriously talked of deposing the Prince of Montenegro, and electing Menotti Garibaldi perpetual president of the federation of the Western Balkans. At last, in January 1894, seventy-seven members of the Omladina, including journalists, printers, clerks, and artisans, mostly very young men, were put on their trial at Prague for being members of a secret society, and guilty of high treason. When the arrests began, one Mrva, better known as Rigoletto di Toscana, was assassinated by Dolezal, who afterwards was seized, and was one of the accused included in the prosecution. This Mrva had been a member of the Omladina, and was said to be a police spy. He made careful notes of all the proceedings of the society, as also of another with which he was connected, and which was called "Subterranean Prague," the object of which was to undermine the houses of rich men, with a view to robbing them. His papers and pocket-books, which after his death fell into the hands of the police, served largely in drawing up the indictment against the Omladina. The result of the trial, ended on the 21st February 1894, was that all the prisoners but two were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from seven months to eight years. Whether the Omladina is killed or only scotched, remains to be seen; probably it is the latter, for the Panslavic movement it represents is alive, and will some day lead to the solution of the Eastern question. For Panslavism—of which the Omladina was the outcome—means Muscovite patriotism, and its war-cry, "Up against the unbelieving Turkish dogs!" finds an echo in all Russia; and though the Berlin Congress has for a time checked the progress of Panslavism, yet, as we said above, it is alive.

X

TURKISH SOCIETIES

605. *Young Turkey.*—The vivifying wave of revolutionary ideas which swept over Europe in the first half of this century extended even to Turkey, and, in imitation of its effects in other countries, produced a Young Turkey, as it had produced a Young Germany, a Young Poland, a Young Italy, and so on. Mr. David Urquhart, as violent a Turcophile as he was a Russophobe, attributed to Moustapha Fazyl-Pacha, whom he calls a Turkish "Catiline," the doubtful honour of having been the founder of Young Turkey, whose aims were the abolition of the Koran and of the Sultan's authority, the emancipation, in fact, of Turkey from religious and civil despotism. The society did not make much progress in the earlier half of the century, hence, in 1867, a new association with the same title, and under the same chief, was formed at Constantinople, Paris, and London. Its objects were the same as those of the first society, with the additional aim of destroying Russian influence in the East by the emancipation of the Christian subjects of the Porte. The members of the directing committee in Paris and London were Zia Bey, Aghia-Effendi, Count Plater, a Pole, living at Zürich, Kemal Bey, and Simon Deutsch. The chief agent of the committee at Constantinople was M. Bonnal, a French banker at Pera. Moustapha Pacha agreed to contribute annually three hundred thousand francs to the funds of the association. Murad Bey, the brother of the present Sultan, is now the leader of the Young Turkey party, of which Midhat Pacha was a prominent member. Murad Bey attributes to the Sultan himself and the palace camarilla all the evils from which the country is now suffering.

606. *Armenian Society.*—We shall see further on (637) that the Armenians of Russia formed a secret society against that country in 1888; recent events (1896) have prominently brought before Europe the existence in Turkey of Armenian societies. They are organised in the same way as the old venditas of the Carbonari; that is to say, the committees do not know one another, nor even the central committee from which they receive orders. They number five, and comprise altogether about two hundred members. Each committee

has a significant name. They are called Huntchak (Alarm), Frochak (Flag), Abdag (Bellows), Gaizag (Thunderbolt), and Votchintchak (Destruction). The last two are the most recently created. The committees act according to a plan fixed by the occult central committee. Thus the Huntchak organised the demonstration in 1895 at the Porte, while the attack on the Ottoman Bank (1896) devolved on the Frochak committee. There remain three, who will have to act successively. In the following month of October the Armenian revolutionary leaders sent a letter to the French Embassy at Constantinople, threatening further outrages. The latest detailed account of the society, published in December 1896, says: The discovery of seditious papers found in the possession of Armenian conspirators, when arrested in December 1896 at Kara Hissar Charki, reveals all the details of the revolutionary programme, circulated by the leaders of the insurrection, and imposed on their adherents. The programme includes thirty-one draconic rules, to which the members of the numerous Armenian bands have to submit. For instance, each band must be composed of at least seven members, who take an oath that they will submit to torture, and even to death, rather than betray the secrets of the society. By Rule 14 the band is ordered to carry off into the mountains any unjust or cruel Ottoman official, to compel him to reveal any State secret which he may possess, and even to put him to death. Rule 15 authorises the band to attack and plunder the mails and couriers, but it must not assail any person found travelling alone on the roads, unless it is absolutely necessary in the interest of the band to do so. Any member showing cowardice, when fighting, is to be shot at once. The chief is the absolute master of the band, and may punish as he chooses any member with whom he is dissatisfied. Amongst some of the most stringent clauses is one which orders the members to act as spies upon each other, and to report to the chief all the doings and movements of one another. One of the characteristic features of the Armenian revolution is the use of numerous disguises, which enable them to go secretly through towns and circulate arms and seditious literature, pamphlets, and even pictures, with the view of inciting the Armenian population against the Imperial Government. The English agitation of the present day in favour of the Armenians shows the crass ignorance existing in this country as to the true character of that people. If the Armenians were worthy of, or fit for, the liberty they claim, they would do as the Swiss—a poor nation, whilst the Armenians are rich—did five hundred years ago in fighting Austria—they would fight Turkey.

XI

THE UNION OF SAFETY

607. *Historical Sketch of Society.*—Russia has ever been a hotbed of secret societies, but to within very recent times such societies were purely local; the Russian people might revolt against some local oppression, or some subaltern tyrant, but they never rose against the emperor, they never took up arms for a political question. Whatever secret associations were formed in that country, moreover, were formed by the aristocracy, and many of them were of the most innocent nature; it was at one time almost fashionable to belong to such a society, as there are people now who fancy it an honour to be a Freemason. But after the wars of Napoleon, the sectarian spirit spread into Russia. Some of the officers of the Russian army, after their campaigns in Central Europe, on their return to their native country felt their own degradation and the oppression under which they existed, and conceived the desire to free themselves from the same. In 1822 the then government of Russia issued a decree, prohibiting the formation of a new, or the continuance of old, secret societies. The decree embraced the masonic lodges. Every employé of the State was obliged to declare on oath that he belonged to no secret society within or without the empire; or, if he did, had immediately to break off all connection with them, on pain of dismissal. The decree was executed with great rigour; the furniture of the masonic lodges was sold in the open streets, so as to expose the mysteries of masonry to ridicule. When the State began to prohibit secret societies, it was time to form some in right earnest. Alexander Mouravief founded the *Union of Safety*, whose rites and ceremonies were chiefly masonic—frightful oaths, daggers, and poison figuring largely therein. It was composed of three classes—Brethren, Men, and Boyards. The chiefs were taken from the last class. The denomination of the last degree shows how much the aristocratic element predominated in the association, which led, in fact, to the formation of a

society still more aristocratic, that of the "Russian Knights," which aimed at obtaining for the Russian people a constitutional charter, and counteracting the secret societies of Poland, whose object was to restore Poland to its ancient state, that is to say, absolutism on the part of the nobles, and abject slavery on the part of the people. The two societies eventually coalesced into one, under the denomination of the "Union for the Public Weal"; but, divided in its counsels, it was dissolved in 1821, and a new society formed under the title of the "Union of the Boyards." The programme of this union at first was to reduce the imperial power to a level with that of the President of the United States, and to form the empire into a federation of provinces. But gradually their views became more advanced; a republic was proposed, and the emperor, Alexander I., was to be put to death. The more moderate and respectable members withdrew from the society, and after a short time it was dissolved, and its papers and documents carefully burnt. The revolutions of Spain, Naples, and Upper Italy led Pestel, a man who had been a member of all the former secret societies, to form a new one, with the view of turning Russia into a republic; the death of Alexander again formed part of the scheme. But circumstances were not favourable to the conspirators, and the project fell to the ground. Another society, called the *North*, sprang into existence, of which Pestel again was the leading spirit. In 1824, the "Union of the Boyards" heard of the existence of the Polish Patriotic Society. It was determined to invite their co-operation. The terms were speedily arranged. The Boyards bound themselves to acknowledge the independence of Poland; and the Poles promised to entertain or amuse the Archduke Constantine at Warsaw whilst the revolution was being accomplished in Russia. Both countries were to adopt the republican form of government. This latter condition, however, made by the Poles, displeased the Boyards, who, themselves lusting after power, did not see in a republic the opportunity of obtaining it. The Boyards therefore united themselves with another society, that of the "United Slavonians," founded in 1823 by a lieutenant of artillery, named Borissoff, small in numbers, but daring. As the name implied, it proposed a Slavonian confederation under the names of Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, and Transylvania. The insurrection was on the point of breaking out; but the Emperor Alexander had already (in June 1823), by the revelations of Sherwood, an Englishman in Russian

service, who was ennobled, received some intimation of the plot, but seems to have neglected taking precautions; whilst he was lying ill at Taganrog, Count De Witt brought him further news of the progress of the conspiracy, but the emperor was too near his death for active measures. He died, in fact, a few days after of typhoid fever he had caught in the Crimea. It was rumoured that he died of poison, but such was not the case: the report of Sir James Wylie, who was with him to the last, disproves the rumour. Besides, it is certain that the conspirators were guiltless of the emperor's death, since it took them unprepared and scattered at inconvenient distances over the empire. Immediately on Alexander's death General Diebitsch, commanding at Kieff, ordered Colonel Pestel and about a dozen officers to be arrested. But the conspirators did not therefore give up their plan. They declared Nicholas, who succeeded Alexander, to be a usurper, his elder brother Constantine being the rightful heir to the throne. But Constantine had some years before signed a deed of abdication in favour of his brother, which however was not publicly known; and Alexander I. having died without naming his successor, the conspirators took advantage of this neglect to further their own purposes. But they were not supported by the bulk of the army or the people; still, when it came to taking the oath of fidelity to the new emperor, an insurrection broke out at St. Petersburg, which was only quelled by a cruel and merciless massacre of the rebellious soldiers. Pestel, with many others, was executed, but his equanimity never deserted him, and he died with sealed lips, though torture is said to have been employed to wring confessions from him. Prince Troubetskoi, who had been appointed Dictator by the conspirators, but who at the last moment pusillanimously betrayed them, was nevertheless by the merciless Nicholas I. exiled to Siberia for life, and condemned for fourteen years to work in the mines, and he belonged to a family which had, with the Romanoffs, competed for the throne!

These secret societies, with another discovered at Moscow in 1838, whose members were some of the highest nobles of the empire, and who were punished by being scattered in the army as private soldiers—these secret societies were the precursors of the Nihilists, whose history we have now to tell.

XII

THE NIHILISTS

"There are alarmists who confer upon the issuers of these revolutionary [Nihilistic] tracts the dignified title of a secret society, . . . but the political atmosphere of the country [Russia] . . . is no longer so favourable as it used to be to their development."

—ATHENÆUM, *29th January* 1870.

"A political movement that is perhaps the most mysterious and romantic the world has ever known."—ATHENÆUM, *23rd September* 1882.

"Nihilism is the righteous and honourable resistance of a people crushed under an iron foe; Nihilism is evidence of life. . . . Nihilism is crushed humanity's only means of making the oppressor tremble."

—WENDELL PHILLIPS (in speech at Harvard University).

608. *Meaning of the term Nihilist.*—When the first edition of this work was published, but scanty information concerning this society had as yet reached Western Europe. As will be seen by the first quotation above, its scope and importance were at that date not understood; twelve years after, the same publication in eloquent and—coming from such an authority—significant language paid due honour to it. And indeed since 1870 the Nihilists have made their existence known to the world both by burning words and astounding deeds, which we will record as concisely as possible.

The term "Nihilist" was first used by Turgheneff, the novelist, in his "Fathers and Sons," where one of the characters, Arkadi, describes his friend Bazaroff as a "Nihilist." "A Nihilist?" says his interlocutor. "As far as I understand the term, a Nihilist is a man who admits nothing."—"Or rather, who respects nothing," is the reply. "A man who bows to no authority, who accepts no principle without examination, however high this principle may stand in the opinions of men." This was Turgheneff's original definition of a Nihilist; at present he means something very different. The term was at first used in a contemptuous sense, but afterwards was accepted from party pride by those against whom it was employed, just as the term of *Gueux* had in a

former age been adopted by the nobility of the Netherlands.

609. *Founders of Nihilism.*—The original Nihilists were not conspirators at all, but formed a literary and philosophical society, which, however, now is quite extinct. It flourished between 1860 and 1870. Its transformation to the actual Nihilism is due, in a great measure, to the Paris Communists and the International, whose proceedings led the youth of Russia to form secret societies, having for their object the propagation of the Liberal ideas which had long before then been preached by Bakunin and Herzen, who may indeed be looked upon as the real fathers of Nihilism, with whom may be joined Cernisceffski, who, in 1863, published his novel, "What is to be Done?" for which he was sentenced to exile in Siberia, but which mightily stirred up the revolutionary spirit of Russia. Herzen, who died in 1869, aimed only at a peaceful transformation of the Russian empire; but Bakunin, who died in 1878, dreamt of its violent overthrow by means of a revolution and fraternisation with other European States equally revolutionised. Even during his lifetime an ultra-Radical party was formed, having for its organ the *Onward*, founded in 1874 by Lavroff, whose programme was, "The party of action is not to waste its energies on future organisation, but to proceed at once to the work of destruction."

610. *Sergei Nechayeff.*—Another important and influential personage in the early days of Nihilism was Sergei Nechayeff, a self-educated man, and at the time when he first became active as a conspirator, in 1869, a teacher at a school in St. Petersburg. He advocated the overthrow, though not the death, of the Tsar. But the conspiracy was prematurely discovered; Nechayeff had an intimate friend, the student Ivanoff, but ultimately they disagreed in political matters, and Ivanoff, declaring that his friend was going too far, threatened to leave the secret association. This was looked upon as an act of treason, and on the 21st November 1869 Nechayeff slew Ivanoff in a grotto near the Academy of Agriculture at Moscow. This murder led to the discovery of the society, and eighty-seven members thereof were tried in 1871. Prince Cherkesoff was implicated in this attempt; he had on several occasions supplied the required funds. He was deprived of his rights and privileges, and banished to Siberia for five years. Nechayeff himself escaped to Switzerland, but so great were his powers of organisation and persuasion that the Russian Government set a high

price on his head, and finally succeeded in obtaining his extradition from Switzerland, no less than 20,000 francs being paid to the Zürich Prefect of Police, Pfenniger, who facilitated the extradition, which, according to all accounts, was more like an act of kidnapping. The Municipal Council strongly protested, and passed a resolution that even common criminals should not be given up to such Governments as those of Russia and Turkey. Nechayeff was sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude in Siberia, but he was too important a person to be trusted out of sight, and so he was confined in the most secure portion of the fortress Peter and Paul. For a time he was kept in chains fastened to a metal rod, so that he could neither lie down, stand up, nor sit with any approach to ease. But even in prison he never lost an opportunity of making converts; he received visits from high officials, nay, the emperor himself "interviewed" him. Of course all these visits were paid with a view of sounding him about the forces and prospects of the revolutionary party, but he remained true to them; and with wonderful self-abnegation preferred remaining in prison to delaying the killing of the Tsar, which delay would have been necessary had his friends undertaken his deliverance. In 1882 the friendly guards around him were arrested, and nothing more was ever heard of Nechayeff beyond the fact that he was cruelly beaten with rods in consequence of a dispute with the inspector of the prison, and died shortly after. Some suppose that he committed suicide, others that he was killed by the effects of the blows. He was keenly lamented by all the Nihilists, for all recognised his ability, his courage, and utter disregard of self.

611. *Going among the People.*—One of the earliest effects of the newly-awakened enthusiasm for social and political freedom was the eagerness with which young men, and women too, went "among the people." The sons and daughters, not only of respectable, but of wealthy and aristocratic, families renounced the comforts and security of home, the love and esteem of their relatives, the advantages of rank and position, to associate with the working classes and the peasantry, dressing, faring, and working like and with them, with the object of instilling into them ideas as to the rights of humanity and citizenship; of expounding to them the principles of Socialism and of the revolution. Thus in the winter of 1872, in a hovel near St. Petersburg, Prince Krapotkine gathered round him a number of working-men; Obuchoff, a rich Cossack, did the same on the banks of the

river Don; Leonidas Sciseko, an officer, became a hand-weaver in one of the St. Petersburg manufactories to carry on the propaganda there; Demetrius Rogaceff, another officer, and a friend of his, went into the province of Tver, as sawyers, to spread their doctrines among the peasants; Sophia Perovskaia, who, like Krapotkine, belonged to the highest aristocracy—her father was Governor-General of St. Petersburg—took to vaccinating village children; in the secret memoir drawn up in 1875 by order of Count Pahlen, the then Russian Minister of Justice, we also find the names of the daughters of three actual Councillors of State, the daughter of a general, Löschern von Herzfeld, as engaged in this propaganda; and from the same document it appears that as early as the years 1870 and 1871 as many as thirty-seven revolutionary "circles" were in existence in as many provinces, most of which had established schools, factories, workshops, depôts of forbidden books, and "flying sheets," for the propagation of revolutionary ideas. But though the propagandists met with some successes among the more educated classes, and received great pecuniary assistance from them —thus Germoloff, a student, sacrificed his whole fortune, maintaining several friends at the Agricultural Academy of Moscow; Voinaralski, an ex-Justice of the Peace, gave forty thousand roubles to the propaganda — yet among the peasantry their successes were not equal to their energy and zeal. The Russian peasants, too ignorant to understand their teachers, or too timid to follow their advice, were not to be stirred up to assert the rights belonging to the citizens of any State. Moreover, the young men and women, who went forth as the apostles of revolution, were lacking in experience and caution; hence they attracted the attention of Government, and many were arrested. How many was never known. The propaganda was stamped out with every circumstance of cruelty, the gaols were filled with prisoners, the penal settlements with convicts; half the students at the universities were in durance, and the other half under the ban of the law.

612. *Nihilism becomes Aggressive.*— Nihilism doctrinaire having thus proved a failure, it became Nihilism militant. The Nihilists who had escaped the gallows, imprisonment, or exile, determined that revolutionary agitation was to take the place of a peaceful propaganda. They began by forming themselves into groups in different districts, whose object it was to carry on their agitation among those peasants only whom they knew as cautious and prudent

people. The St. Petersburg group was at first, 1876–78, contemptuously called "The Troglodytes," but afterwards, after the paper published by them, "Land and Liberty." There was also a large "group" at Moscow. Most of its members had been students at the Zürich University; it included several girls, one of whom was Bardina, of whom more in the next section. Some of them had entered into sham marriages, which they themselves, in their letters, called farces, and which were performed without any religious ceremony, and were, in most cases, never consummated, their object being simply to render the women independent, and to enable them to obtain passports, and at many a trial it was proved that these women had, in spite of their adventurous lives and intimate association with men, preserved their virtue unimpaired. But the groups, though they held their ground with varying fortunes for several years, remained without results; the immensity of Russia, the *vis inertia* of the peasantry, and the necessity of acting with the utmost circumspection, rendered these local efforts futile. The leaders at Moscow wrote despairingly. Thus in a letter from Sdanowitch to the members at Ivanovo, a village of cotton-spinners, we read: "The news from the south are unsatisfactory. . . . We send you books and revolvers. . . . Kill, shoot, work, create riots!" There seems to have been no scarcity of books or money: one member of the association was found in possession of 8545 roubles in cash, a note for 1100 roubles, and 300 prohibited books, and with another 2450 prohibited books were discovered. The central administration at Moscow, which became necessary when, after the arrests in March 1875, the members went to the provinces, provided books, money, addresses, and false passports; carried on correspondence (in cipher), gave warning of approaching danger and notice of the arrest of brethren, and kept up communication with prisoners. But this Moscow society was discovered in August 1875, and totally extinguished.

613. *Sophia Bardina's and other Trials.*—But Nihilism was not to be suppressed. It continued to gather strength, even among the peasantry, as was shown by the trial of Alexis Ossipoff, who in 1876 was condemned to nine years' penal servitude for having distributed prohibited books. For the same offence Alexandra Boutovskaia, a young girl, was sentenced in the same year to four years' penal servitude.

In March 1877 a new revolutionary society was dis-

covered at Moscow; of fifty prisoners, whose ages ranged from fifteen to twenty-five years, three were condemned to ten years' penal servitude, six to nine years (two of them were young girls), one to five years; the rest were shut up in prisons, or exiled to distant provinces. Sophia Bardina, then aged twenty-three, was one of the prisoners, the daughter of a gentleman; she had on leaving college received a diploma and a gold medal; but to further the Socialistic propaganda, she took a situation as an ordinary work-woman in a factory. Accused of having distributed Liberal pamphlets among the factory hands, she was imprisoned, and kept in close confinement for two years, without being brought to trial; she was included in the trial of the fifty, and sentenced to nine years' penal servitude in Siberia. On being asked what she had to say why sentence should not be passed, she made one of the most splendid speeches ever heard in a court of law. In her peroration, she said, "I am convinced that our country, now asleep, will awake, and its awakening will be terrible. . . . It will no longer allow its rights to be trampled under foot, and its children to be buried alive in the mines of Siberia. . . . Society will shake off its infamous yoke, and avenge us. And this revenge will be terrible. . . . Persecute, assassinate us, judges and executioners, as long as you command material force, we shall resist you with moral force; . . . for we have with us the ideas of liberty and equality, and your bayonets cannot pierce *them!*"

Then came the monster trial of the one hundred and ninety-three. The whole number of persons implicated in this prosecution originally amounted to seven hundred and seventy. Of the one hundred and ninety-three who were tried, ninety-four were acquitted; thirty-six were exiled to Siberia, and Myschkin, one of the leaders, sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. Seventy prisoners are said to have died before they were brought to trial; the investigations in the trial lasted four years.

At these and other trials which took place in various provinces of Russia, the prisoners conducted themselves with the utmost courage and resolution. The Russian people appreciated their self-sacrificing patriotism. "They are saints!" was the exclamation frequently heard from the lips of even such persons as did not approve of the objects of the accused.

614. *The Party of Terror.*—The Nihilists continued to put forth manifestoes, in which they distinctly stated their

demands. Whilst (justly) accusing the highest officials and dignitaries of dishonourable conduct, avarice, and barbarous brutality, they demanded their removal from the *entourage* of the emperor, to whom they then intended no harm. It was the court camarilla they were aiming at, and the suppression of the emperor's private chancellery, commonly called "the Third Division." But the more ardent Nihilists were for more drastic measures, and a portion of the party, represented by their organ, *Land and Liberty*, seceded, and took the name of the "Party of the People," which section was in 1878 divided again, and the seceders called themselves the "Party of Terror," and were represented by the *Will of the People*. The party had no definite plans at first; its first overt act was Solovieff's attempt on the life of the emperor (617). And the Government seemed to play into the hands of the Terrorists. It did everything it could to goad the people to desperation: the merest suspicion led to arrest; ten, twelve, fifteen years of hard labour were inflicted for two or three speeches made in private to a few working-men; spies were employed by Government to obtain, by false pretences, admittance to Nihilistic meetings, in order to betray the members. Naturally the Nihilists retaliated by planting their daggers into such traitors as they discovered and could reach. Thus Gorenovitch, originally a member of the propaganda, who had betrayed his companions, was, in September 1876, dangerously wounded, and his face disfigured for life by sulphuric acid; in the same month and year, Tawlejeff was assassinated at Odessa; and in July 1877, Fisogenoff at St. Petersburg.

615. *Vera Zassulic.*—But the signal for the outbreak of the terrorism, which distinguished the latter phases of Nihilism, was given, unintentionally, by the shot fired by the revolver of Vera Zassulic on 24th January 1878. General Trepoff, the chief of the St. Petersburg police, had ordered a political prisoner, Bogolinboff, to be flogged for a slight breach of prison discipline. Vera Zassulic made herself the instrument to punish this offence. Her life had been an apprenticeship for it. She was then twenty-six, and at the age of seventeen she had been arrested and kept in confinement two years, because she had received letters for a revolutionist. She had then passed her first examination as a teacher, and was working at bookbinding. At the end of two years she was released, but in a very few days was seized again, and sent from place to place, and finally placed at Kharkoff, nearly two years under police supervision. At the

end of 1875 she returned to St. Petersburg. Her experiences had prepared her for her deed: she knew what solitary confinement was, and the resentment of Russian society against Trepoff — for even persons without revolutionary tendencies called him the Bashi-bazouk of St. Petersburg— became in her mind a conviction that he must be punished, though she had no personal acquaintance either with Bogolinboff or Trepoff. She waited on the latter, presented a paper to him, and while he was reading it, fired her revolver at him, inflicting a dangerous wound, and then allowed herself to be seized, without offering any resistance. Though the attempt was not denied at her trial, the jury pronounced her "Not guilty," and the verdict was unanimously approved as the expression of public opinion in Russia. Men saw in the acquittal a condemnation of the whole system of police, and especially of its chief, General Trepoff. Vera Zassulic was declared to be free; but in the adjoining street her carriage was stopped by the police; a riot ensued, for the people would not allow her to be seized again, and in the commotion Zassulic made her escape, and after a while found refuge in Switzerland. The emperor was furious at her acquittal, went in person to pay a visit of condolence to his vile tool Trepoff—whom he made a Councillor of State—and then ransacked the whole city in search of Zassulic, to put her in prison again.

616. *Officials Killed or Threatened by the Nihilists.*—The attempt of Zassulic was followed on the 16th August by the more successful one on General Mesentsoff, chief of the third section of police, who had become notorious by being implicated in a trial about a forged will and false bills of exchange. Taking advantage of his irresponsible position, he caused all the witnesses who might have appeared against him to be assassinated. It was known that he starved the prisoners under his charge, subjected them to all kinds of cruelty, loaded the sick with chains, "all by express orders of the emperor." The Nihilists resolved he must die. On 16th August 1878, just as he was leaving a confectioner's shop in St. Michael's Square, two persons fired several shots at him with revolvers. He fell, and his assailants,[1] leaping into a droschky which was waiting for them, made good their escape, and fled in the direction of the Newski Prospect. One of them was a literary man, who in 1883 lived in Germany. His name was frequently mentioned in

[1] Stepniak, after his death in 1895, was accused by the Russian press of having been one of them. See section 645.

connection with German literature. General Mesentsoff died the same day at five in the afternoon. In a pamphlet entitled *Death for Death*, which appeared directly after, the writer declared political assassination to be both a just and efficacious means of fighting the Government, which the writer's party would continue to use, unless police persecutions ceased, political accusations were tried before juries, and a full amnesty granted for all previous political offences. But the Government showed no intention of granting any such reforms. Its severity was increased, and trial by jury, in cases of political offences, entirely suspended. Special courts were instituted, guaranteed to pass sentences in accordance with the Tsar's wishes. In September 1878, the St. Petersburg organisation called "Land and Liberty," and consisting of about sixty members, was broken up. A great many were imprisoned, others made their escape, but by the energy of four or five members the society was not only re-established, but was enabled to erect a printing-press, on which their paper, called after the society, was regularly printed. The Tsar having appealed to "Society" to assist him in putting down the revolutionary agitators, the attempts of "Society" to do so led to numerous riots, and in St. Petersburg and Kieff, meetings of students were dispersed by policemen and Cossacks, many of the students being wounded, and some killed. An association of working-men, comprising about two hundred members, whose objects in reality were only Socialistic, was betrayed by the Jewish spy Reinstein, and about fifty of the working-men were imprisoned. Reinstein, however, met his reward by being killed soon after by the Nihilists.

On the 9th February 1879, Prince Alexis Krapotkine, a cousin of the famous agitator, Peter Krapotkine, and Governor of Kharkoff, was shot on returning home from a ball, as a punishment of his inhuman treatment of the prisoners under his charge, which had led the latter to organise "hunger-mutinies" (638), many of them preferring starving themselves to death rather than any longer undergoing the cruelties the governor practised upon them. Goldenberg, their avenger, made good his escape.

On March 12, General Drenteln, the Chief of the Secret Police, was fired at by a Nihilist called Mirski, who managed to escape. The causes of the attempt were: firstly, that Drenteln had caused a prisoner to be hanged for trying to escape; secondly, his general cruelty, which had provoked

another "hunger-mutiny"; and lastly, his having sent many Nihilists to prison.

617. *First Attempts against the Emperor's Life.*—Thus we see that the persons aimed at by the Nihilists gradually rose in rank, and the logical conclusion of aiming at the highest, at the Tsar himself, could not be evaded. The idea came to several persons simultaneously. As early as the autumn of 1878 a mine was laid at Nikolaieff, on the Black Sea, to blow up the emperor; but it was discovered by the police, the only one they did discover. About the same time A. Solovieff, who had been a teacher, but who on becoming a Socialist learned the trade of a blacksmith that he might thus place himself into closer connection with the labouring classes, came to St. Petersburg with the intention of killing the emperor. At the same period Goldenberg, still elated with his successful attempt on Prince Krapotkine, also reached the Russian capital with the same object in view—the death of the Tsar. Solovieff and Goldenberg entered into communication with some of the chiefs of "Land and Liberty," and eventually Solovieff undertook the task. On the 2nd April 1879, he fired four shots at the emperor as the latter was walking up and down in front of the palace. Solovieff was seized, tried on the 6th June following, of course found guilty, and hanged on the 9th of the same month. At the trial he declared himself a foe of the Government and a foe of the emperor, and at his execution he preserved his composure to the last.

618. *Numerous Executions.*—After Solovieff's attempt a virtual state of siege was established throughout the whole Russian empire, and a police order was issued at St. Petersburg requiring each householder to keep a *dvornik*, or watchman, day and night at the door of the house to see who went in and out, and that no placards were affixed. In the month of May there were 4700 political prisoners in the Fort Petropowlovski, who were removed in one night to eastern prisons, to make room for those newly arrested. Eight hundred prisoners, under strong escort, were drafted off from Odessa to Siberia. In the same month the trial took place at Kieff of the persons who, about a year before, had resisted the police sent to arrest them for being in possession of a secret printing-press. Four of the accused were cited as unknown persons, because they refused to give their names and were unknown to the police, but during the trial the names of two of them oozed out. Ludwig Brandtner and one of the unknown, but calling himself

Antonoff, were sentenced to be shot. The Governor-General of Kieff, however, ordered them to be hanged. Three others, and Nathalie Armfeldt, daughter of a State Councillor, Mary Kovalevski, ranked as a noble, and Ekaterine Sarandovitch, daughter of a civil servant, were condemned to hard labour for fourteen years and ten months. Ekaterine Politzinoy, the daughter of a retired staff-captain, for not informing the police of what she knew of the doings of the other prisoners, was sentenced to four years' hard labour. At another trial, held a day after, two other Nihilists, Osinsky and Sophia von Herzfeldt, were condemned to be shot.

619. *The Moscow Attempt against the Emperor.*—On the 17th to the 21st June the Nihilists held a congress at Lipezk (province of Tomboff), at which Scheljäboff, a prominent leader, maintained, as we learn from his "Life," written by Tichomiroff, that since the Government officials, such as Todleben at Odessa, and Tschertkov at Kieff, were simply the tools of the Tsar, this latter must be personally punished, which was agreed to by his colleagues. It was decided to blow up the imperial train during the journey of the emperor from the Crimea to St. Petersburg. The mines under the railway line were laid at three different points—near Odessa, near Alexandrovsk, and near Moscow. But owing to a change in the emperor's itinerary, the Odessa mine had to be abandoned; in that at Alexandrovsk, the capsule, owing to some defect, did not explode, though the battery was closed at the right moment, and the imperial train passed uninjured over a precipice, to the bottom of which it would have been hurled by the slightest shock; near Moscow alone the terrorists made at least an attempt. They had purchased a small house close to the railway, and Leo Hartmann, an electrician, Sophia Perovskaia, and others, excavated a passage, commencing in the house and ending under the rails. The work was nearly all done by hand, and owing to the wet weather the passage was always full of water, so that the miners had to work drenched in freezing water, standing in it up to their knees. The attempt to blow up the emperor's carriage was made on the 1st December 1879, but his train, fortunately for him, preceding instead of following the baggage-train, the latter only suffered. When, after the explosion, the cottage was searched some of the apparatus, and even an untouched meal, were found; but the inmates had all disappeared, and were not afterwards apprehended, though many hundreds were sent to prison on the denunciation of Goldenberg (616), who a few days

before the Moscow attempt had been seized by the police with a quantity of dynamite in his possession, and who, to benefit himself, as he hoped, betrayed a great number of his fellow-Nihilists. Finding that he did not thereby obtain any alleviation of his own fate, he committed suicide.

620. *Various Nihilist Trials.*—Another great trial of Nihilists took place at Odessa in August. Twenty-eight prisoners were tried, of whom three were sentenced to be hanged. They were Joseph Davidenko, son of a private soldier, and Sergay Tchoobaroff and Dmitri Lizogoob, gentlemen. The latter, who had sacrificed nearly his whole fortune, a large one, to the "cause," and of whom Stepniak gives so moving an account in his "Underground Russia," justly styling him "The Saint of Nihilism," was betrayed by his steward, Drigo, the Government having promised to give him what still remained of Lizogoob's patrimony, about £4000. The other prisoners were sentenced to various terms of hard labour in the mines, ranging from fifteen to twenty years.

In December another important trial of Nihilists was heard before the Odessa military tribunal. The most prominent prisoner was Victor Maleenka, a gentleman, who was tried for the attempt made three years before to murder Nicholas Gorenovitch, for having betrayed some of his fellow-Nihilists (614). It appeared that Gorenovitch had been enticed to a lonely place in Odessa, where Maleenka felled him with blows on the head, while a companion threw sulphuric acid over what was supposed to be the corpse of Gorenovitch, in order to destroy all traces. But the victim survived, and appeared as a witness at the trial. He presented a horrible appearance: the acid had destroyed his sight and all his features, and even his ears; consequently his head was enveloped in a white cloth, leaving nothing but his chin visible. It may, by the way, be mentioned, that he was then inflicting his awful presence on poor people as a scripture reader, being led about by a devoted sister. Maleenka and two of his fellow-prisoners were sentenced to be hanged.

621. *Explosion in the Winter Palace.*—The failure of the Moscow attempt did not discourage the Nihilists. They now adopted the title of "The Will of the People," and though in January 1880 two of their secret printing-presses were discovered and seized by the police, and numerous arrests were made, they managed to issue on the 26th January a programme, in which they declared that unless the Govern-

ment granted constitutional rights, the emperor must die. The emperor replied by ordering greater severity and more arrests. Then the Nihilists planned a fresh attempt, more daring than any previous one, to blow up the emperor in his own palace. Its execution was undertaken by Chalturin, the son of a peasant, a very energetic agitator and experienced organiser of workmen's unions. Being also a clever cabinet-maker he easily, under the assumed name of Batyschkoff, obtained a situation in the imperial palace; he ascertained that the emperor's dining-hall was above the cellar in which the carpenters were at work, though between it and the latter there was the guardroom, used by the sentinels of the palace, and his plans were made accordingly. So blind and stupid were the Russian police that—though towards the end of the year 1879 (Chalturin found employment in the palace in the month of October) a plan of the Winter Palace, in which the dining-hall was marked with a cross, was found on a member of the Executive Committee who had been apprehended, in consequence of which the police made a sudden irruption into the carpenters' quarters—nothing was discovered, yet Chalturin used a packet of dynamite every night for his pillow! A gendarme, however, was installed in the carpenters' cellars, and a stricter surveillance exercised over all persons entering or leaving the palace. This rendered the introduction of dynamite exceedingly difficult, and greatly delayed the execution of the project.

It may here incidentally be mentioned that what may appear to the reader to have been an exceptionally difficult undertaking, viz., to introduce dynamite into the imperial palace itself, was, after all, very easy. The Winter Palace, till then always—a change was made after the attempt—had been a refuge for numberless vagabonds, workmen, friends of servants, and others, many without passports, who could not have lived anywhere else in the capital with impunity. It appears there is an old law which gives right of sanctuary, as far as regards the ordinary police, to criminals taking refuge in an imperial palace. When General Gourko searched the Winter Palace, it was found that no fewer than five thousand persons had been living in it, and no one knew the precise duties of half of them. Chalturin gave startling accounts of the disorder pervading the palace, and of the robberies committed by servants. They gave parties of their own, invited scores of friends, who freely went in and out, yea, stayed overnight, whilst the grand staircase remained inaccessible to even highly-placed officials. The servants were such thieves that

Chalturin, not to excite their suspicions, was compelled occasionally to take food and other trifles as "perquisites." True, the wages of the upper domestic servants were only fifteen roubles a month.

To resume our narrative. Chalturin suffered terribly from headaches, caused by the poisonous exhalation of the nitroglycerine on which his head rested at night. However, he continued to work on without exciting any suspicion, yea, the gendarme on guard tried to secure the clever workman, who at Christmas had received a gratuity of a hundred roubles, for his son-in-law. At last fifty kilogrammes of dynamite had been introduced; the Executive Committee urged Chalturin to action; and on the 5th February 1880 the explosion took place, Chalturin having had time to leave the palace before it occurred. It pierced the two stone floors, and made a gap ten feet long and six feet wide in the dining-hall, in which a grand dinner in honour of the Prince of Bulgaria was laid. Through an accidental delay the imperial family had not yet assembled, and thus escaped total destruction. The explosion killed five men of the palace guard, and injured thirty-five—some accounts say fifty-three. Some of the parties implicated in the plot were brought to trial in November 1880, but Chalturin was not captured till early in 1882; he was hanged on the 22nd March of that year, and only then recognised as the cabinetmaker of the Winter Palace. The Executive Committee, in a proclamation, regretted the soldiers who had perished, but expressed its determination to kill the emperor, unless he granted the constitutional reforms asked for. The Tsar, in reply, invested Count Loris-Melikoff with unlimited authority as Dictator. The attempt on the latter's life, made on 3rd March by Hipolyte Joseph Kaladetski, for which he suffered death on the 5th, was not prompted by the Executive Committee, who, on the contrary, expressed their disapproval of it, because Count Melikoff had shown some tendency towards Liberal ideas.

622. *Assassination of the Emperor.*—During the remainder of the year 1880, large numbers of suspected persons were arrested, tried by a secret tribunal, and many of the prisoners condemned to death or transportation to Siberia. In the previous year, 11,448 convicts were despatched eastward, and in the spring of 1880 there were in the prisons at Moscow 2973 prisoners awaiting transportation to Siberia and hard labour in the mines or government factories. But the Nihilistic movement, instead of being killed, acquired fresh strength by these wholesale persecutions; the

Tsar, in his blind fury, seemed bent on his destruction—and it was nearer than he anticipated. The Executive Committee determined that now the emperor must die. Forty-seven volunteers presented themselves to make the attempt on his life. On the 13th March 1881, the Tsar was assassinated. Returning from a military review near St. Petersburg, a bomb was thrown by Ryssakoff, which exploded in the rear of the carriage, injuring several soldiers. The emperor alighted, and a second bomb, thrown with greater precision, by Ignatius Grinevizki, exploded and shattered both the legs of the emperor below the knees, tore open the lower part of his body, and drove one of his eyes out of its socket. Within one hour and a half the Tsar was dead. Grinevizki was seized, but he was himself so injured that he died shortly after his arrest. He was the son of a small farmer, who with great difficulty for some time managed to keep his family, consisting of eleven persons, but eventually fell into difficulties; his farm was sold, and he became insane. Ignatius, in the greatest poverty, attended several schools. In 1875 he was sent, as the best scholar of his class, to the Technological Institution at St. Petersburg; there he joined the students' unions for Radical purposes, in which, by his activity and address, he soon acquired great influence. In 1879 he would have been satisfied with a moderate constitution, but seeing that there was no prospect of even that small boon, he joined the Terrorists, working with and for them till the great work of his life was assigned to him. The Nihilists ascribe to him the fame of a Brutus, of Harmodius, and Aristogeiton! Return we to the other actors in this historic tragedy.

The signal for throwing the bombs had been given by Jessy Helfmann and Sophia Perovskaia, who were on the watch, waving their handkerchiefs. She and Helfmann were arrested, as also some of the other conspirators, Kibalcie, Micailoff, and Ryssakoff, and, with the exception of Helfmann, who, being four months pregnant, was reprieved, were hanged on the 15th April following. All the prisoners died like heroes; Perovskaia even retained the colour in her cheeks to the last. But the execution was a "butchery." (See *Kölnische Zeitung* and London *Times* of 16th April 1881.)

623. *The Mine in Garden Street.*—On the 25th March the revolutionary correspondence found on the prisoners led to the discovery of the conspirators' quarters in Telejewskaia Street, where Timothy Michailoff was arrested. A copy of

the proclamation of the new Tsar's ascent to the throne was found on him, on the back of which were marked in pencil three places of the city, with certain hours and days against each. One place thus indicated was a confectioner's shop at the corner of Garden Street. Just round the corner from this confectioner's in Garden Street was a cheesemonger's shop, kept by one Kobizoff and his wife, whose mysterious disappearance on the day of the assassination led to the discovery of a mine under the street. From subsequent discoveries it became evident that this mine was not intended to blow up the emperor, but to stop his carriage, and afford others time to assassinate him, after the fashion of the hay-cart, which stopped General Prim's carriage at Madrid.

624. *Constitution said to have been Granted by late Emperor.*—It was said that the day before his death the emperor had signed a Constitution, and that by their action the Nihilists had deprived their country of the benefits it would have conferred. But what he had signed was merely the appointment of a representative commission to consider whether provincial institutions might not be widened, and the calling together of the *zemskij sobor*, or communal council, a measure Loris-Melikoff had strongly advised him to adopt, as a means of enlisting the people's co-operation in putting down Nihilism, the minister taking care to remind the emperor that such an assembly would, after all, be only deliberative, and that the final decision would always remain with the crown. The whole scheme was a mere blind to allay public discontent, with no intention on the Tsar's part of relinquishing any portion of his absolute prerogatives. The emperor's death thus did not deprive the Russian of any substantial benefit, but saved them a delusion.

625. *The Nihilist Proclamation.*—Ten days after the Tsar Alexander II. had been put to death, the Executive Committee issued their nobly-conceived and expressed proclamation to his successor, Alexander III., in which, on condition of the emperor granting (1) complete freedom of speech, (2) complete freedom of the press, (3) complete freedom of public meeting, (4) complete freedom of election, and (5) a general amnesty for all political offenders, they declare their party will submit unconditionally to the National Assembly which meets upon the basis of the above conditions. Hundreds of Easter eggs containing this proclamation were scattered about the streets of Moscow at Easter time. Nay, a rumour was then universally current in St. Petersburg, that the Nihilists had deputed one of their number to wait on

the Emperor Alexander and explain to him in unambiguous words what they really wanted. The emperor received him, and after having heard what he had to say, ordered him to be placed in durance in the Fortress Petropowlovski; the police, however, failed to find any clue to his identity. So runs the story, and there is nothing improbable in it, considering the daring self-sacrifice which characterises all the acts of the Nihilists.

626. *The Emperor's Reply thereto.*—The emperor's reply to the Nihilistic proclamation, asking for such constitutional rights as are possessed by every civilised nation, was given in a manifesto, issued on the 11th May, in which the emperor expressed his determination fully to retain and maintain his autocratic privileges. Furthermore, fresh executions were ordered, thousands of his subjects were exiled to Siberia, greater rigour was exercised against the press and every Liberal tendency. Not only did the emperor not grant any reforms, but he even retracted concessions already made, as, for instance, the reduction of the redemption money, whereby nearly four millions of his subjects continued to be kept in virtual serfdom. Ignatieff, the newly-appointed Minister of the Interior, whilst bravely seconding his master in his oppressive measures, tried to open a safety-valve to public dissatisfaction and indignation by fomenting anti-Jewish riots, the blame of which was laid to the charge of the Nihilists, who, however, published a very spirited reply, showing that it was not their policy to incite the people against the Jews, they being, as was proved at many a trial, and especially those of Southern Russia, great supporters of the Nihilistic movement. But irrespective of this, it was no part of Nihilistic tactics to set one race or religion against another in the empire. Nor did the despoiling of private individuals, such as distinguished the violence against the Jews, enter into their plans. They robbed, they admitted, but only in the interest of the "cause" and of the people. They warned the emperor against listening to pernicious counsel. But the emperor closed his ears to this advice. Trembling for his life, he shut himself up at Gatshina, to which place he had fled. The day when he was to start, four imperial trains were ostentatiously ready at four different stations in St. Petersburg, with all the official and military attendants, while the emperor fled in a train without attendance, which had been waiting at a siding.

When in June 1881 the Court removed to Peterhoff, the railway between the two places was strictly guarded by

troops; for every half verst—about one-third of a mile English—there was a sentinel with a tent. Besides this, the photographs of all the railway officials were lodged in the Ministry of Ways and Communications, so that any Nihilist, disguised in railway costume, might the more easily be detected.

627. *Attempt against General Tcherevin.*—On November 25, a young man presented himself at the Department of State Police, which was the old third section or secret police under a new name, and asked to see General Tcherevin, the chief director of measures for assuring the safety of the emperor, stating that he had to disclose some business gravely affecting the State. On being ushered into the presence of General Tcherevin, he immediately drew a revolver and fired at the general, but missed him, and was secured. He declared that he was acting as the instrument of others, and for the good of Russia, but named no accomplices. His own name was Sankofsky. As the Russian Government suppressed as far as possible all allusions to the event—and we have no account as to what became of Sankofsky—he was probably tried with closed doors, and what was his punishment remains unknown.

628. *Trials and other Events in* 1882.—Numerous arrests, and trials of persons who had long been in prison, took place in 1882. Of twenty prisoners tried in February, ten, including one woman, were sentenced to be hanged. On 12th June Count Ignatieff, having rendered himself unpopular to the public by his anti-Jewish schemes, and incurred the disfavour of his imperial master by intimating to him that, without the introduction of the ancient States-General of the Tsars, the government of the country could not be satisfactorily carried on, under the time-honoured fiction of ill-health sent in his resignation. Count Tolstoi, who was known to disapprove of the anti-Semitic policy of Count Ignatieff, was appointed his successor.

Five days after, the Nihilists received a terrible blow. In a house occupied by them on an island in the Neva, there was discovered a great number of bombs and a large quantity of dynamite; but of more importance were the papers found on the Nihilists apprehended at the same time, from which it appeared that they were kept *au courant* of the Government correspondence in cipher with foreign countries, as far as it referred to themselves, which information they had received from Volkoff, one of the higher officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In July a secret printing-press

of the Nihilists was discovered in the Ministry of Marine; its director committed suicide. Encouraged by the disasters which had befallen the Nihilists, the emperor ventured to return to St. Petersburg, and on the 11th of September attended the fête of Alexander Nevsky, the patron-saint of the emperor, but slightly guarded, without evil results; and in the exuberance of his feelings he went so far as to extend his clemency even to the Nihilists, for on October 4 he graciously commuted the sentence of death, passed by a secret tribunal, on two Nihilists for having murdered a police spy, to perpetual labour in the mines—and yet the Nihilists were not conciliated! For when, on the 21st November, the emperor and empress paid a visit to St. Petersburg extra precautions were taken on the part of the police and military authorities; all along the route, from the railway-station to the palace, police-officers in sledges and on foot were met with at every half-dozen yards; policemen were posted at regular intervals in the centre of the street, and the bridges over the canals were closely guarded by the marine police. But the emperor maintained his serenity. As the *Official Gazette* informed its readers: "Towards the end of December the new chief of police, General Grössler, had the honour of exhibiting before his Imperial Majesty several policemen attired in the latest new and last old uniforms of the force. His Majesty carefully examined the difference, consisting mainly in alterations of colours and buttons." He also began to think of his coronation, which was announced to take place at various dates during the current year; but the ceremony was postponed from time to time, and did not finally take place until 27th May 1883.

629. *Coronation, and Causes of Nihilistic Inactivity.*—Great surprise was excited by the peaceful nature of the coronation; but it appeared by the trial (in April 1883) of seventeen Nihilists at Odessa, five of whom were sentenced to death, that the conspirators had made the most extensive preparations for killing the emperor at his coronation, as proposed in 1881 and 1882; but by the vigilance of the police, and the denunciation of spies, their schemes were frustrated, and the terrorists found it impracticable to make the attempt in 1883. As they themselves declared afterwards, they came to the conclusion that such an attempt would damage their interests. They argued that the revolutionary movement in Russia embraces many persons of moderate views, whose opinions must be taken into consideration; that the people, who came to the coronation would not

belong to a class likely to approve of a revolutionary plot. But the Nihilists profited in another way by the coronation. The whole force of the Government, and its most intelligent spies, being concentrated at Moscow, the Nihilists seized this occasion to spread their doctrines and to enrol supporters at St. Petersburg and other large centres, to which may be attributed the great riots which, after the coronation, occurred at St. Petersburg, which were intensified by the fact that none of the expected constitutional reforms were granted. The manifesto issued by the emperor on the coronation day consisted simply of a remission of arrears of taxes; criminals condemned without privation of civil rights had one-third of their terms remitted; exiles to Siberia for life had their sentences commuted to twenty years' penal servitude; those still lying under sentence for the Polish troubles in 1863 were to be set free; but confiscated property was not to be restored. Much more had been expected, and the Burgomaster of Moscow had been bold enough, in his congratulatory address to the emperor, to express those hopes, for which "presumption" he was visited with the emperor's displeasure. But the disappointment of the people's expectation of an amnesty and a constitution greatly favoured the spread of Nihilistic doctrines. The Nihilists continued to hold secret meetings, issue their papers, flying sheets, and manifestoes. In September 1883 a number of officers were arrested, and a large depôt discovered at Charkoff, containing arms of every kind, large quantities of gunpowder, dynamite bombs, and new printing apparatus. It was found that dynamite was being manufactured in Kolpino, close by St. Petersburg. Here 138 naval and 17 artillery officers were arrested and conveyed to the St. Peter and Paul fortress. In Simbirsk an artillery colonel was arrested, who had gained an enormous influence with the peasants, and incited them to revolutionary deeds.

630. *Colonel Sudeikin shot by Nihilists.*—On the 28th December the Nihilists took their revenge by shooting Colonel Sudeikin, the Chief of the Secret Police, in a house to which he had been enticed by the false information of an intended Socialist meeting. They also left a letter stating that the next victims would be Count Tolstoi, Minister of the Interior, and General Grössler, the Chief of the St. Petersburg police. "If ever assassination could be palliated," says the *Evening Standard* of the 31st December 1883, "it is in such a case as the present. When men know that sons, or brothers, or wives are being driven to madness

or death by prolonged and deliberate cruelty, no Englishman can blame them very greatly if they take vengeance on their tyrants. In a free country, under just laws, assassination of officers for a fancied wrong is altogether unjustifiable and wicked; but under such a régime as exists in Russia, it can hardly be judged in the same way. Men may shudder, but they cannot unreservedly condemn."

631. *Attempt against the Emperor at Gatshina.*—The Nihilists continued to issue journals and proclamations, and to extend their influence among the working classes. Of course they also continued to meet with checks. Early in January 1884 numerous arrests were made among the factory hands at Perm, on the Kama, and many revolutionary documents were found in their possession. Towards the end of the month of December of the preceding year the emperor had met with what was thought, or at least officially represented, to be an accident; while out hunting, his horses took fright, upset the sledge, and the emperor sustained a severe injury to his right shoulder. But in the following January it was rumoured that the accident was really a Nihilist attempt at assassination. It was said that about a fortnight before the murder of Colonel Sudeikin, Jablonski, *alias* Degaieff, who had sent Sudeikin the letter which led to his death, accompanied by a woman, arrived at the house of the imperial gamekeeper at Gatshina, and producing a letter from Colonel Sudeikin, informed him that the woman was to be received into his house in order to assist the detectives already at Gatshina. The woman remained, and whenever the Tsar went shooting, she attended, disguised as a peasant boy. On the day of the "accident" the woman was not there, but made her appearance next day and reported that the Tsar had met with an accident, one of the gamekeepers having carelessly discharged his gun close to the imperial sledge and frightened the horses. On the day after the assassination of Sudeikin, and when it was known that Jablonski had played the chief part in the tragedy, three detectives arrived at Gatshina and arrested the woman. She was said to be a sister of Streiakoff, who was hanged for complicity in the murder of Alexander II., and there were rumours current afterwards that she had secretly been hanged in one of the casemates of the Petropowlovski Fortress for the attempted murder at Gatshina.

Odessa then became notorious for the frequent murders and attempted assassinations of officers of the gendarmerie by Nihilists. During the summer, Colonel Strielnikoff and

Captain Gezhdi were killed; on the 19th August a determined attempt to kill Captain Katansky, the successor of Strielnikoff, was made by a second Vera Zassulic. The girl, Mary Kaljushnia, who made the attempt, was a merchant's daughter, barely nineteen, and her object, to avenge her brother, who had been sentenced to penal servitude for life in Siberia. She had for some time been under police supervision; she earned a miserable subsistence by giving lessons, maintaining herself on about fourpence a day. Her requests to be allowed to go abroad were persistently refused. On the date above named, she called on Captain Katansky, avowedly with the object of renewing her request, but in the course of conversation she suddenly drew a revolver and fired straight into the officer's face. But the ball only grazed his ear; she was seized before she could fire again, and on the 10th September following sentenced to twenty years' hard labour. She was tried by the Odessa Military Tribunal with closed doors. Several political arrests were made about the same time, especially of students and young ladies, one of the latter a doctor of medicine.

632. *Trial of the Fourteen.*—In the month of October a trial took place in St. Petersburg of fourteen Nihilists, including six officers and the celebrated female revolutionist Figner, *alias* Vera Filipava, who had offered shelter to the regicide Sophia Perovsky, and of another woman, named Volkenstein, who had been implicated in the murder of Prince Krapotkine at Kharkoff in 1879 (616). The tribunal was virtually a court-martial with closed doors, and the greatest secrecy was observed throughout the week for which the trial lasted. The six officers and the two women, Figner and Volkenstein, were condemned to death, and the others sentenced to hard labour in the mines.

633. *Reconstruction of the Nihilist Party.*—After a years' silence, the organ published clandestinely in Russia by the Nihilists, the *Narodnaia Volia* (*The Will of the People*), reappeared, dated 12th October 1884, in large 4to. The losses suffered by the party were admitted; their type and printing-machines had fallen into the hands of the police, and some of their chief men were in prison. These losses they attributed to the denunciations of Degaieff, the assassin of Colonel Sudeikin, who had been a leading Nihilist, had turned traitor, but finding the Government not grateful enough, and fearing the vengeance of the Nihilists, had purchased his safety by acting again for the latter and killing Sudeikin. This latter being killed, and Degaieff rendered

harmless, the Committee was able to reconstitute the party. The *Will of the People* also gave a summary of the principal Nihilistic events during the year, comprising some interesting details concerning the great development of agrarian Socialism in the south of Russia, facts till then studiously concealed by the Government. The paper further stated that the revolutionary group, which had at one time separated itself from the party of the *Will of the People*, "The Party of the People" (614) and the revolutionary party of Poland, had coalesced with the Russian Nihilists. Among the other subjects treated, there was an obituary notice of Professor Neoustraieff, who was shot at Irkutsk for striking the governor-general of the province. The last pages of the paper were filled with a long list of arrests made, and a paragraph incidentally mentions that M. Larroff never belonged to the Executive Committee, though he is recognised as one of the editors of the review *Onwards*, published by the Nihilists at Geneva, and as a warm friend of the party.

634. *Extension of Nihilism.*—With such a constant hidden enemy in their very midst, the Government and people of Russia were in a state of chronic alarm. Count Tolstoi, the Minister of the Interior, whilst diligently searching for Nihilists, was also their especial victim. He daily received threatening letters; he scarcely dared stir out of doors, and whenever he did so, the extra precautions that had to be taken involved an outlay of five hundred roubles. And whilst despotism was more violent and resolute than ever, the trials constantly going on showed that Nihilism had extended its influence to the army, and that the military Nihilists did not belong to the lower ranks. Whilst the emperor shut up Nihilists in one fortress, he was a prisoner in another. The official press of Russia about this time (end of 1884) was very sore on the subject of the comments of the English press on Russian affairs, accusing it of basing its opinions about Russia upon the prejudiced writings of expatriated Nihilists, and further charging the English Government with allowing Nihilists to use the very City of London as a place whence to send not only criminal proclamations, but explosive substances, such as dynamite, to Russia. "A family," it was said, "making inquiries about their son, accidentally came across an entire office of Russian Nihilists within the boundaries of the City proper." Of course had the English Government been cognisant of these proceedings, it would readily have put an end to them.

635. *Decline of Nihilism.*—But Nihilism apparently began

to decline. A Nihilist manifesto, published in August 1885, lamented: "Truth compels us to own that the fierce struggle with the Russian Government, and the spirit of national discontent, which gave strength to our party, which was, in fact, its *raison d'être*, has ended in the triumph of absolutism." In the following December a trial took place at Warsaw, at which six persons belonging to the revolutionary association called the Proletariate, including a justice of the police and a captain of Engineers, were sentenced to be hanged; eighteen were condemned to sixteen years' hard labour in the mines, two to ten years and eight months' penal servitude, and two others to transportation to Siberia for life. Early in January 1886 the police discovered a Nihilist rendezvous opposite the Annitchkine Palace, at St. Petersburg. A number of explosive bombs and a printing-press were seized, and several arrests were made. In April it was reported that a Nihilist conspiracy, directed against the life of the emperor, had been discovered at a place near Novo Tcherkask, the capital of the Don Cossacks, to which the emperor was expected to make a visit. Early in December some five hundred students attempted to celebrate the anniversary of a certain Bogolinboff, a once popular poet; but the police interfered, and a number of arrests were made, including many lady students, eighteen of whom were sent off from St. Petersburg by an administrative order, without the least notion whither they were to be taken, or what was to become of them.

Such are the scanty notices we have of Nihilism in 1886.

636. *Nihilistic Proceedings in* 1887.—In 1887 the Nihilists displayed greater activity. In February another conspiracy was discovered, but the details were not allowed to transpire. All that became known was that a young prince, a cadet in one of the military schools, attempted to commit suicide by shooting himself, the reason alleged being his complicity in some plot which he thought had been discovered. An inquiry into the matter in one or two of the military and naval schools resulted in the arrest of a large number of young men, as well as of two or three naval officers.

On Sunday, the 13th March, the anniversary of the assassination of Alexander II., a determined attempt to kill his successor was made. The Russian police had previous information that such an attempt would be made, from Berlin, London, and Bucharest. On Saturday night a couple of men in a restaurant on the Nevsky attracted the attention of the detectives, who followed and watched them all night. Next day the police were able to watch the posting of six individuals, including

three students, at three different parts of the route to be followed by the Tsar. They carried bombs in the shape of books, of a bag, an opera-glass, and a roll of music. As soon as they had apparently taken their positions they were pounced upon by the police and secured. Altogether fifteen persons were arrested, twelve men and three women, one of the latter being the landlady of the house at Paulovna, on the Finnish railway, where the bomb manufactory was discovered a day or two after the attempt of the 13th. Nine of the twelve men were students, and the other three were two Polish nobles from Wilna and an apothecary's assistant. Seven of the accused were condemned to be hanged, and the other eight to various terms of imprisonment with hard labour, from twenty years downwards. It was reported at the time that each prisoner was found to have a small bottle containing a most active poison suspended round the neck, next to the bare skin. In case of failure, or refusal at the last moment to accomplish the task, secret agents of the party, who were on the watch all the time, were to strike the chest of the faint-hearted or unsuccessful conspirator, thus smashing the bottle and causing the poison to enter the wound made by the broken glass. The Nihilists seem not to have been discouraged by the last failure, for on the 6th April next a fresh attempt on the emperor's life appears to have been made, though particulars, beyond those of the seizure of several suspected persons, were not allowed to transpire. But it was reported from Odessa that in the month of the same year (1887) 482 officers of the army arrived in that town under a strong military escort. They were accused of participation in the last attempt on the Tsar's life, and were to be transported to Eastern Asia.

In June the trial of twenty-one Nihilists, accused of various revolutionary acts in the years 1883 and 1884, took place at St. Petersburg. The prisoners included the sons of college councillors, priests, superior officers, a Don Cossack, tradesmen, peasants, and two women, one of them a staff-captain's daughter. Fifteen were condemned to death, but on the Court's recommendation, eight death sentences were mitigated to from four to fifteen years' hard labour, and subsequently the emperor for once reprieved the remaining seven, five of whom were to undergo hard labour in Siberia for life, and the others from eighteen to twenty years each.

Another blow was sustained by the Nihilists at the end of November, when the police discovered laboratories for

the manufacture of dynamite in the Vassili, Ostrou, and Peski quarters of St. Petersburg. No wonder that they began to utter cries of despair towards the end of the year 1887. "Liberalism," they said, in one of their publications, "has not eradicated the feeling of loyalty in society. . . . Even the 'intelligent Liberals' have rejected the invitation to establish free printing offices, . . . or even to serve the revolutionary press abroad by sending it articles for publication." *The Messenger of the Will of the People*, which was the official exponent of the party during the year, ceased to appear "for want of intellectual and material aid from Russia." "Little is to be expected," the Nihilists said elsewhere, "from the present generation of Russians. . . . Russian society, with its dulness, emptiness, and ignorance, is to blame. . . . Most of the so-called cultured classes belong to that category of passengers who are made to travel in cattle-trucks. . . . Russian society has become a flock of sheep, driven by the whip and the shepherds' dogs."

637. *Nihilism in* 1888.—Little or nothing was heard of Nihilism in that year. There was indeed a rumour in January that a new Nihilist conspiracy against the life of the Tsar had been discovered at St. Petersburg, and that many officers and others had been arrested; but it went no further than a rumour. Extensive police precautions were adopted at St. Petersburg early in March, in anticipation of Nihilist manifestations on March 13, the anniversary of the death of the late Tsar; but the day went by without disturbances of any kind. The accident which occurred to the Tsar's train in November 1888 is very generally supposed to have been the result of a Nihilist plot. But the unchangeable despotic character of the Russian Government was again exemplified during the year by its anti-Semitic policy at two extremities of European Russia. Some two thousand Jews received notice to quit Odessa, and the expulsion laws against the persecuted Hebrews were also enforced in Finland. The Finnish Diet having refused to adopt the Russian view of the case, the Government determined upon enforcing the law as it exists in Russia; all the Jews to leave within a year, with the exception of those who had served in the army. According to the emperor's own statement, this wholesale expulsion of the Jews was due to the fact that Jews have been mixed up with all Nihilistic plots.

In December 1888 the papers reported the discovery by the Russian Government of a ramification of secret societies among the young and educated Armenians, upon the model

of the "Young Italy" societies, as they were constituted in 1848. The object of the Armenian societies is revolution against Russian rule, and the establishment of Armenian union and independence.

638. *Slaughter of Siberian Exiles, and Hunger-Strikes.*—Towards the end of the year 1889, the civilised world was horrified by the account of the slaughter of a number of exiles at Yakutsk, on their way to the extreme east of Siberia, near the shore of the Polar Sea. These exiles were not criminals, but exiled by "administrative order," that is to say, they had not been tried and convicted by any tribunal: Government, not the Law, arbitrarily had ordered them to Siberia as suspects. Simply for asking to take with them sufficient food and clothing for the terrible journey still before them, they were declared to have resisted the authorities, and a number of them shot down; a woman, Sophie Gourewitch, was ripped open by bayonets; the vice-governor himself twice fired at the exiles. Not satisfied with this butchery, the surviving exiles were tried by court-martial; three were sentenced to death, and many others to long terms of penal servitude in the mines. Early in 1890, still more horrifying details of hunger-strikes among the exiles reached Europe, and of the means adopted by the Russian Government to repress them. One lady, Madame Sihida, was dragged out of bed, where she lay ill, and received one hundred blows. She died in two days from the effects. Many of her companions in misery took poison; so did many of the male prisoners. This occurred at Kara, in Eastern Siberia. In fact, the condition of Russian prisons, especially of those where political prisoners are confined, is too horrible to be described in these pages; the moral and physical suffering wantonly inflicted on the victims of a Tsarish cruelty is without a parallel in the history of absolutism. The Tsar cannot be absolved from personal responsibility in the matter: to say that he was not aware of the cruelties practised in his name, is saying in as many words that his neglect of inquiring into them encouraged them; but he must know them; they had been frequently communicated to Alexander III., notably in a long letter written in March 1890 by Madame Tshebrikova, a lady of position, and not in any way connected with the Nihilists; but for writing it she was arrested, and sent to Penza, in the Caucasus, and placed under strict police surveillance.

639. *Occurrences in* 1890.—The Russian students having in recent times shown decidedly Liberal tendencies, Govern-

ment endeavoured to repress them, which led to repeated riots and endless arrests, as many as five hundred and fifty students, who had protested against the new and oppressive statutes promulgated by the authorities, being arrested at Moscow in March 1890. In April all the police stations and prisons of St. Petersburg were full of arrested students; the ringleaders, mostly young men belonging to good families, were eventually sent as private soldiers into the disciplinary battalions near Orenburg.

In May, fourteen Russians were arrested in Paris, which has always been a favourite place of residence with Nihilists, Colonel Sokoloff, who was expelled from France, Krukoff, a printer, and Prince Krapotkine being among their chiefs. The prisoners above mentioned were proved to have been in possession of bombs, many of which had been manufactured in Switzerland. There were two women among the accused; they were acquitted, the men were sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

In November in the same year the Russian General Seliverskoff was found in his room in a Paris hotel, shot in the head; he died on the following day without having recovered consciousness. He had been a Russian spy on the Nihilists.

In the same month five Nihilists were tried at St. Petersburg, one of them being a woman, Sophie Günzburg, who was arrested in Russia, in possession of bombs and revolutionary proclamations. Four of the prisoners were condemned to death. Another trial took place about the same time, and as in the first-mentioned trial the principal figure was a woman, so in this second trial the chief personage was a young girl, Olga Ivanovsky, niece of Privy Councillor Idinsky, director of a department of the Holy Synod. As the names of high ecclesiastical functionaries were concerned in the affair, the authorities shrouded it in more than the usual secrecy, so that no details have reached the outer world.

640. *Occurrences from* 1891 *to Present Date.*—The Nihilists appear to have been rather, but not quite, inactive during these later years. In May 1891 a secret printing-press was discovered and seized at St. Petersburg. In November of the same year a far-reaching political conspiracy was discovered at Moscow, and some sixty persons, belonging to the nobility, the literary profession, and the upper middle class, were arrested. In December a great number of arrests were made, some of the accused being found to be in possession of plans and details of the imperial

palaces. In 1892 a number of Nihilists were arrested at Moscow, for an alleged conspiracy to kill the Tsar on his return journey from the Crimea. An anonymous letter had warned the authorities that the attempt was to be made at a small railway station. The line was examined, and a bomb discovered under each line of rails. In spite of these failures, the Nihilistic agitation was actively carried on. The revolutionists endeavoured to stir up the lower classes against the Tsar by telling them that, though he pretended to supply the masses with food during the famine, he allowed his subordinates to rob the people. The insinuation, however, had but little success with the Russian people of the lower class, brought up in slavish adoration of the emperor, who can do no wrong. In the month of December, Major-General Droszgovski was assassinated at Tashkend, in Russian Turkestan. He had been acting as president of a court-martial for the trial of a number of Nihilists, most of whom were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. To avenge them their friends killed the president.

In May 1893 the decapitated body of a Russian student was discovered in a forest, near Plussa Station, on the Warsaw railway. The deceased was supposed to have been a member of a secret society, and to have been killed to prevent his revealing its secrets. Two young men were arrested for the crime, and immediately hanged. A widespread Nihilistic conspiracy against the life of the Tsar was discovered (in September 1893) at Moscow, in consequence of which eighty-five university students, eight professors, and five ladies belonging to the aristocracy, were arrested.

Early in 1894 the Government Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of Siberian prisons issued its report, in which instances without number were recorded of merciless floggings, lopping off of arms and fingers by sabre cuts, of cannibalism under stress of famine. During the whole of 1892 there was an almost continuous string of convoys of corpses from Onor, the prison on the island of Saghalien, to Rykovskaya, the residence of the authorities, and most of the bodies were terribly mutilated. In 1893, if any one of a band of convicts failed in his work, he was at once put on half rations, then on third rations; and when he could work no more, the inspector finished him with a revolver bullet. What wonder, then, that in November 1894 three secret printing-presses, in full working order, with a great quantity of Nihilistic literature, were discovered at Kieff, at Kharkoff, and at Nicolaieff respectively? The

press at Kharkoff was being worked by the students of the university in that city. Upwards of eighty persons were arrested. In September 1895, it was reported that a widespread Nihilistic plot against the life of the Tsar and the imperial family had been discovered by the Russian police. Some of the leaders were quietly arrested, while dynamite bombs, arms, and piles of revolutionary pamphlets were seized during a number of domiciliary visits at Moscow. In March of the year 1896 six officers of the garrison of Kieff, including a colonel, were arrested for participating in a Nihilist conspiracy. According to the *Central News*, in October 1896 the Russian Custom-house officers confiscated on the Silesian frontier a quantity of light canes destined for sale to the upper classes, and containing in their hollow interior thousands of Nihilist proclamations, printed on tissue paper. The Nihilists, evidently, are still at work. There is a Nihilist club, composed chiefly of Jews, in London, who publish a paper, similar in character to Most's *Freiheit* (512) in Yiddish, and printed with Hebrew type.

641. *Nihilistic Finances.*—The number of active Nihilists never amounted to more than a few dozen men and women; they may have had twelve or thirteen hundred supporters, who assisted the leaders by distributing their books, pamphlets, &c., concealing them when pursued by the police or otherwise in danger, assisting them to escape from prison, assisting them with money, &c.; though those who sympathised with the Nihilists, without, however, taking any active part in the propaganda, may be assumed to have been perhaps one hundred thousand. Whence did the Nihilists obtain the means for executing their schemes? for creating a literature, purchasing materials, travelling, carrying out terroristic measures, supporting and delivering prisoners?

In 1869 Nechayeff had obtained from Herzen the revolutionary fund collected in Switzerland, and amounting to more than £1000; the members of the society, of course, gave their contributions; Lizogoob sacrificed his fortune of about 200,000 roubles to the "cause"; the Justice of the Peace Voinaralski gave 40,000 roubles; a Dr. Weimar, a very active Nihilist, supplied large sums; rich people, who sympathised with Nihilism, but would not compromise themselves, contributed money either anonymously, or ostensibly for charitable purposes. Besides these voluntary contributions, the Nihilists obtained compulsory ones by threatening timorous rich men, or such as were known to have enriched

themselves at the expense of the State, that unless they assisted the Nihilistic cause, they would be condemned to death by the Executive Committee. The Nihilists also occasionally helped themselves to the Government cash; in 1879 they robbed the State bank of Kharkoff by means of a subterranean passage, and carried off one million and a half of roubles. But their outgoings were considerable; the Moscow mine and the other two attempts made at the same time, for instance, cost nearly £4000, and consequently the Nihilists were often hard pressed for money. The most extravagant reports were circulated at times as to their financial resources; thus the *Cologne Gazette* in April 1879 declared the Nihilistic propaganda to count as many as 19,000 members, and to be possessed of a fund amounting to two millions of roubles. The Nihilists accomplished their objects with a tenth of that amount. In fact, in 1881 they were driven to imitate the device of Peter's Pence and the Red Cross. In January 1882 they founded the association of the Red Cross, and made appeals in the *Will of the People* for contributions. This appeal was published by Lavroff in the Paris paper *L'Intransigeant*, which led to his expulsion from France. However, according to the *Will of the People* and other Nihilistic publications, 53,000 roubles were received in 1881. But the figures dealing with Nihilistic finances can never be anything but approximate. They received contributions from French, Swiss, German, English, Italian, and Austrian sympathisers, a fact showing the international unity of the Revolutionists, and the extensive foreign connections of the Russian Nihilists.

642. *The Secret Press.*—The revolutionary party early felt the necessity of propagating their opinions by the press, hence in the earliest stages of the movement, as far back as the year 1860, secret printing-presses were set up; and all the various organisations established afterwards, attempted to have their own presses; but the difficulty of maintaining secrecy was too great; one after the other they were discovered and seized. At last, in 1876, Stephanovitch, a leading spirit among the Nihilists, succeeded in establishing a secret printing-press at Kieff. He lived in one house, and had the press at another. A friend of his who lodged with him was arrested; he sent a note to Stephanovitch to warn him; but the messenger handed the note to the police, which led to the arrest of Stephanovitch. His sole object now was to save the printing apparatus. A woman and her husband presented themselves before the landlord of the

house where the printing office was, and producing the key of the rooms, the woman told the landlord that she was Stephanovitch's sister, who had given it her, and given her and her husband permission to occupy the rooms till his return. The landlord had no suspicion, and made no objection. The pair secretly removed all the printing apparatus and left the house. Soon after the police made their appearance; they had made a house to house visitation at Kieff in search of the printing office, and the few types and proofs they found here and there left in corners, satisfied them that they had come too late. The printing apparatus was carried to Odessa, but what became of it there, is not known.

A clever and enterprising Jew, Aaron Zundelevic, a native of Wilna, in 1877 managed to smuggle into St. Petersburg all the necessary apparatus for a printing office, which could print works of some size. He learned the compositor's art, and taught it to four other persons. For four years the police discovered nothing, until treachery and an accident came to their aid. Not only the members of the organisation "Land and Liberty," which maintained the office, but even the editors and contributors of the journal printed there, did not know where it was. It was occupied by four persons. Mary Kriloff, who acted as mistress of the house, was a woman of about forty-five. She had been implicated in various conspiracies. A pretty, fair girl passed as the servant of Madame Kriloff. Intercourse with the outer world was maintained by a young man of aristocratic, but silent, manners. He was the son of a general, and nephew of a senator, and was supposed to hold a ministerial appointment, but his portfolio contained only MSS. and proofs of the prohibited paper. The other compositor, Lubkin, was only known by the nickname of the "bird," given to him on account of his voice. He was only twenty-three years of age; consumption was written on his face; having no passport, he was compelled always to remain indoors. When after four hours' desperate resistance the printing office of "Land and Liberty" fell into the hands of the military, he shot himself.

The apparatus, as a rule, was extremely simple; a few cases of various kinds of type, a small cylinder of a kind of gelatinous substance, a large cylinder covered with cloth, which served as the press, a few jars of printing ink, a few brushes and sponges. Everything was so arranged that in a quarter of an hour it could be concealed in a large cupboard. To allay any suspicion the *dvornik* could conceive, they made him enter the rooms under various pre-

tences, having first removed every vestige of the printing operation.

We have seen in preceding paragraphs how the capture by the police of one printing-press speedily led to the setting up of another; and that the number scattered all over Russia must have been great is evident from the number which were discovered, and from which the multitude of those undiscovered may be inferred. And their publications were scattered all over the country. Handbills and placards seemed to grow out of the earth. The army was deluged with them, the labourer found them in his pocket, the emperor on his writing-table. Nihilists wandered all over Russia, leaving them in thousands at every halting-place. Jessy Helfmann was a travelling post-office; her pockets were always full of proclamations, newspapers, handbills, and tickets for concerts and balls for the benefit of prisoners, or of the secret press.

643. *Nihilistic Measures of Safety.*—When Nihilism began to assume terroristic features, and the vigilance of the police consequently became more strict, and arrests were of daily occurrence, the Nihilists had to adopt various means for their self-protection. A primary condition was the possession of a passport, for in Russia every one above the peasantry must be registered, and have a passport. Many young men matriculated as students, not with a view of attending university lectures, but to obtain the card of legitimation. Non-students at first paid high prices for passports, but eventually took to manufacturing them. Every society established its own passport office, forging seals and signatures. One of these offices, furnished with every necessary appliance, was discovered by the police at Moscow in 1882. "Illegal" men, that is to say, those who lived with a false passport, or one lent by a friend, of course did not go by their true names, and their correspondence was taken care of by friends. The Nihilist had to lead a very regular life, not to excite the suspicions of the *dvornik*. Their larger meetings took place in "conspiracy-quarters," which were carefully selected. The windows must be so placed that signals can easily be displayed or changed. The walls of the room must not be too thin, and the doors close accurately, so that sounds may not reach the outside. There must be a landing outside, to command the staircase, so that in case of a surprise a few resolute men can resist a troop of gendarmes, until all compromising papers and other objects are removed.

The conspiracy-quarters generally were regular arsenals; at the storming of the office of the *Will of the People*, every one of the five Nihilists was armed with two revolvers; the dozen gendarmes were afraid to advance, and soldiers had to be sent for; from eighty to a hundred shots were fired on that occasion. When to some of the Nihilists all these precautions became irksome, and they consequently neglected them, Alexander Michailoff, to whom they therefore gave the nickname of *dvornik*, severely censured them; he would follow his associates in the street, to see if they behaved with caution, or he would suddenly stop one, and ask him to read a signboard, and if he found him shortsighted, insist on his wearing glasses. He insisted on their dressing respectably, and would often himself find the means for their doing so. He himself lived like the Red Indian on the war-path. He endeavoured to know all the spies, to beware of them; he had a list of about three hundred passages through houses and courtyards, and by his intimate knowledge of places of concealment, saved many a companion from arrest. The Nihilists frequently change their lodgings, and keep them secret. Then they rely also for their safety on the Ukrivaheli, or Concealers, who form a large class in every position, beginning with the aristocracy and the upper middle class, and reaching even down to the police, who, sharing the revolutionary ideas, make use of their social or official position to shelter the combatants by concealing, whenever necessary, both objects and men. Strange causes sometimes led to the most unlikely people becoming "Concealers." Thus a Madame Horn, a Danish lady, seventy years of age, became one. She had married a Russian, who held some small appointment in the police. When the Princess Dagmar became the wife of the hereditary Prince of Russia, Madame Horn wished the Danish ambassador to obtain for her husband some appointment in the establishment of the new archduchess. The ambassador was rude enough to laugh at her. This turned her in favour of the Nihilists, who she hoped would punish the ambassador. She began by taking care of the Nihilists' forbidden books, attended to their correspondence, and eventually concealing the conspirators themselves. Thanks to her age, her prudence, presence of mind, she escaped all suspicion. Her husband, whom she ruled absolutely, had to furnish her with all the police intelligence he could gather.

644. *The Nihilists in Prison.*—In spite of all their precautionary measures, many of the Nihilists, as we have seen, fell

into the hands of the police. The historian, unfortunately, has no impartial reports to rely on as to their treatment in prison; only once, during the ministry of Count Loris-Melikoff, Russian papers were allowed to partly reveal the secrets of Russian imprisonment and Siberian exile, which virtually confirmed all the "underground" literature had asserted, and these revelations are horrifying. They show up the imperfection and cruelty of Russian state institutions, the brutality and irresponsible arbitrariness of Russian officials. We find that the accused are kept in prison—and what prisons! —for two or three years before being brought to trial, and for what crime? simply for having given away a Socialistic pamphlet. We find women in large numbers undressed in the presence of, or even by, the gendarmes themselves, and searched by them, to the accompaniment of coarse jokes. We are told how prisoners were tortured, how nervous prisoners were disturbed in their sleep, to entice them in their state of excitement to make confessions. Condemned prisoners were treated with the same refined cruelty. There is a large prison at Novobfelgorod, near Kharkoff, whence the prisoners addressed in 1878—that is, before the attempts on the emperor's life—an appeal to Russian society, from which we will quote a few facts. In a dark cell, whose window is partly smeared over with dark paint, lay Plotnikoff, on boards only thinly covered with felt, without covering or pillow, terribly weakened by years of solitary confinement. One day he rose from his boards and began reciting the words of a favourite poet. Suddenly his gaoler rushed in. "How dare you speak loud here!" he cried; "perfect silence must reign here. I shall have you put in irons." The prisoner vainly pleaded that his legal term for being in irons had expired, and that he was ill. The irons were again fastened on him.

Alexandroff, another prisoner, heard some peasants singing in the distance; their song found an echo in his heart, and he sang the melody. He had ceased for some time when the guard entered his cell. "Who has allowed you to sing?" he said; "I will give you a reminder," and with his fist struck him in the face. Even common criminals are better treated. They are allowed to sit together, two or three in one cell. Seräkoff was put into the carcer for not saluting a gaoler standing a little way off. The carcer is a cage totally dark, and so small, that a prisoner has to remain in it in a stooping position. It is behind the privy, whence the soil is but seldom removed.

The prisoners in the fortress Petropaulovski are no better off. Their cells are dark, cold, and damp; the windows being darkened with paint, lights have to be burnt nearly all day. Their food consists of watery soup and porridge for dinner, and a piece of bread morning and evening. The stoves are heated only once every three days, hence the walls are wet, and the floors literally full of puddles. The prisoners are allowed to take exercise every other day, but for a quarter of an hour only. They have no other distraction. When Subkoffski once made cubes of bread to study stereometry, they were taken away from him. "Prisoners are not allowed amusements," he was told. No wonder that disease, insanity, attempts at suicide, and deaths are of daily occurrence. Hunger-mutinies were another consequence of this treatment. A very serious one occurred at Odessa in December 1882. It arose in this way. A prisoner asked for invalid's food, but the prison doctor replied, "You are a workman; invalid's food costs seventy kopecks; you will do without it." Another prisoner, a student, asked for some medicine for a diseased bone in his hand. The same doctor replied, "Suck your hand, you have plenty of time." When this prisoner shortly after wanted to consult another surgeon, the prison doctor replied, "You want no doctor, but a hangman." The final circumstance which brought about the mutiny was the order of the gaoler to confine a prisoner who was consumptive, and had asked for a hammock, in the carcer. Then the prisoners sent for the head of the police, but he only abused them. Then the hunger-mutiny broke out. The prisoners refused to take their food, but the governor of the prison ordered those who could not be persuaded to eat to be kept alive by means of injections.

The horrors of transportation to Siberia have often been described. We need not repeat the fearful tale. But we may state that these horrors are intensified for political prisoners, whilst common criminals are allowed to soften them if they have means. Thus Yokhankeff, the well-known forger, who was tried at St. Petersburg in 1879 for embezzling thousands, instead of having to make his way partly on foot and partly by rail, was allowed to travel with every comfort, accompanied by a female, and to put up at the best hotels *en route*.

The Russian Government, even under Alexander II., became ashamed, it seems, of the many trials, and resorted, to avoid this public scandal, to removing suspected persons by what is called the administrative process, an extra-

judicial procedure under which hundreds of persons were dragged away from their homes and families without trial of any kind, no one knowing what became of them. We may, however, surmise that many were sent to Siberia, since in 1880 further prison accommodation had to be constructed in Eastern Siberia in consequence of the great influx of political prisoners.

What I have stated as to the treatment of prisoners is but what is based on authentic documents. Had I quoted from the "underground" press, I should be accused of exaggeration; but taking the above statements only, does such conduct become a civilised government?

645. *Nihilist Emigrants.*—It is difficult to estimate their number. Many of them conceal themselves to escape the Russian spies scattered all over the Continent, and not to involve the countries affording them an asylum in diplomatic difficulties. There may be about one hundred exiles in Switzerland; there are said to be about seventy in Paris, and perhaps fifty in London; but these numbers can only be approximate, and from the nature of circumstances, must always be changing. Some of these fugitives date from the earliest stages of the revolutionary movement before 1863, as, for instance, M. Elpidin, the bookseller, at Geneva. Others, like Lavroff, were involved in the conspiracies of 1866 and 1869. Others belong to the Socialistic propaganda, like Prince Krapotkine. Others, again, were members of the "Land and Liberty" or "Black Division" parties. After 1878 there was a large addition to the emigration.

But few of these exiles have been able to save any portion of their property. Before engaging in the movement some sold their estates, others leased them to their relations, and allowed them to be burdened with debts, so that in the end but little remains to be confiscated by the Government. Most, even those who receive assistance from home, are compelled to rely on their own exertions. Some give lessons in music, in Russian, in science; others write for Russian and foreign newspapers. Others, again (about twenty), are employed in the three Russian printing-offices at Geneva; and perhaps the same number practise the trades of locksmiths, carpenters, and shoemakers, which they once learned for the purposes of the propaganda. Many, unable to work, their mental and physical powers having been broken by long incarceration, are supported by the contributions of the party.

To suppose, as it often has been supposed, that the Nihilistic movement in Russia is directed by these emigrants,

is a mistake. The telegraph cannot be employed by them, and correspondence is too slow and unsafe. Whatever has to be done in Russia, must be decided on and carried out by the members residing there. The exile ceases to take any active part in the revolution at home, though he may indirectly influence it by his literary efforts, as, for instance, Krapotkine and Stepniak have done to a large extent. The death of this latter, so well known by his brilliant and authoritative work, *La Russia Sotterranea*, caused great sorrow to all true lovers of Russia. He was accidentally killed on the 23rd December 1895, when crossing the railway near Chiswick, by being caught by the engine of a train, knocked down, and fearfully mutilated.

Stepniak's real name was Serge Michaelovitch Kravchinsky. After his death the St. Petersburg press asserted that it was he who assassinated Adjutant-General Mesentsoff (616), the chief of the political police, by stabbing him with a dagger. But this was never proved.

According to *Dalziel*, six officers of the garrison of Kieff, including a colonel, were arrested in March 1896 for participation in a Nihilist plot; whence it would appear that Nihilism is not dead yet, nor is it likely to die until it has attained its aim; and the present emperor does not seem likely to voluntarily satisfy it.

646. *Nihilistic Literature.*—The bibliography of Nihilism is already an extensive one. Among the most important newspapers and periodicals we have:—

1. *The Bell* (Kolokol), edited by Herzen and Bakunin, from 1st July 1857 to 1869. London and Geneva. After Herzen's death it was revived for a short time in 1870; six numbers in 4to appeared.

2. *Flying Sheets.* Heidelberg, 1862. 78 pp. 8vo.

3. *Free Word.* Berlin, 1862. 590 pp. 8vo.

4. *Liberty.* 1863. Two numbers, the organ of the party "Land and Liberty."

5. *The Underground Word*, by M. Elpidin. Geneva, 1866. Two pamphlets.

6. *Cause of the People*, by Bakunin and Elpidin. 1868 and 1869. Nine pamphlets.

7. *Onwards*, a review in nine volumes. 1873–77. Two thousand copies.

8. *Onwards*, a fortnightly publication of three thousand copies in large 4to. 1875 and 1876. Published in London.

9. *The Tocsin.* Monthly. 1875 to 1881.

10. *General Cause.* Monthly. Geneva.

11. *The Commune*, nine numbers of which appeared at Geneva in 1878.

12. *Land and Liberty.* 1878 and 1879.

13. *Will of the People*, the organ of the Terroristic Executive Committee. 1879.

14. *Black Division.* 1880–81.

15. *Free Word.*

Of books we have :—

1. *The Filled and the Hungry*, published by the Anarchists at Geneva.

2. *The Terroristic Struggle*, N. Morosoff. London, 1880.

3. *Terrorism and Routine*, W. Tarnoffski. London, 1880.

4. *Biographies* of Perofskaia, Scheljäbow, and others. Geneva, 1882.

5. *Le Nihilisme en Russie*, S. Podolinski. Paris, 1879.

6. *La Russia Sotterranea*, by Stepniak. Milan, 1882. An English translation appeared in London, 1883.

7. *Buried Alive ;* Report concerning the Prisoners in the Peter and Paul Citadel at St. Petersburg. 1878.

8. *Almanack of the Will of the People.* Geneva, 1883.

I have given the more important periodical publications and books only ; besides these, there are published by Nihilists numerous flying sheets, proclamations, addresses, reports of trials, &c.

647. *Trials of Nihilists.*—The following list is taken from the "Almanack of the Will of the People" :—

Date.	Number of Trials.	Number of Accused.	Sentences.						
			Executions.	Penal Servitude.	Exile.	Imprisonment.	Interned.	Other Punishments.	Acquitted.
1871	2	88	...	4	3	27	...	...	54
1872	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
1874	1	13	...	5	...	...	3	...	5
1875	2	7	...	5	...	...	...	2	...
1876	5	12	...	6	1	2	3	...	...
1877	11	303	...	29	67	20	71	12	104
1878	8	30	1	5	7	2	4	1	10
1879	22	166	16	66	19	6	4	28	27
1880	21	130	5	48	20	11	4	29	13
1881	11	34	6	10	10	...	6	1	1
1882	10	37	3	30	1	...	...	2	1

Subsequent Trials Collected from other Sources.

Date.	Number of Trials.	Number of Accused.	Sentences.						
			Executions.	Penal Servitude.	Exile.	Imprisonment.	Interned.	Other Punishments.	Acquitted.
1883	...	155	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1884	...	15	...	10	...	...	...	...	...
1885	...	6	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
1886	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...
1887	2	36	14	22	...	...	...	...	...

The above sentences are those pronounced by the tribunals; but many of the accused were, in reality, punished more severely than is apparent. Those who were acquitted were, as a rule, placed under police supervision, imprisoned, or banished to no one could tell where. The table, moreover, does not show those who were never tried, but dealt with administratively, as it is mildly termed: they died in prison, or were hanged without trial. This has frequently been the case since 1883, whence it is impossible to give the numbers with the same fulness as before that date. How many victims were so quickly "removed," it will probably be impossible ever to ascertain.

XIII

GERMAN SOCIETIES

648. *The Mosel Club.*—In 1737 there was a carpenter named Vogt, living at Weimar, who, being a native of Traubach, on the Mosel, was, according to the custom of craftsmen, called "the Moseler." He established a tavern, which was largely patronised by students, who, in time, formed a club, which called itself the Mosel Club, and in 1762 became a secret political club, whose object was to raise Prussia to the ruling power of Germany, to effect which the members even pledged themselves to send Frederick II., who was a Freemason, armed assistance. In 1771 a more secret league was formed within the Mosel Club, consisting chiefly of Alsatians and Badois, and calling itself the "Order of Friendship." None was received into it who was not a member of the Mosel Club. The sign was a peculiar pressure of the hand, and touching the face. The members wore a cross attached to a yellow ribbon. After the year 1783 the candidate had to swear fidelity to the Order over four swords, laid crosswise on a table, on which four candles were burning. The words were: "If I become unfaithful to my oath, my brethren shall be justified to use these swords against me." Lodges were established at Jena, Giessen, Erfurt, Göttingen, Marburg, and Erlangen. The students defied the statutes of the universities, which in 1779 led to a judicial inquiry and the abolition of the Order, which, however, was quickly re-formed under the new name of the "Black Order"; at Halle it assumed that of the "Unionists." But in the course of a few years the Order became extinct. Still Germany continued till the middle of this century to be a hotbed of secret societies, in which the students of its many universities were the chief actors. Between the years 1819 and 1842 such associations were especially numerous; legal investigations on the part of the different governments proved in the latter year the existence of thirty-two of them. How much the members of such societies loved

the rulers "restored" to them, appears from the fact that "Young Germany" amused itself on the king's (of Prussia) birthday with shooting at his portrait. Their statutes were very severe against treason, or even mere indiscretion. A Dr. Breidenstein wrote to Mazzini in June 1834 that one Strohmayer, a member of the society, had been sentenced to death, not that he was a traitor, but his indiscretion was to be feared. Sixteen months after, on the morning of 4th November 1835, a milkman found the body of the student Louis Lessing, pierced with forty-nine dagger wounds, in the lonely Sihl valley, near Zürich. Though the legal investigation did not positively prove it, yet it was the general opinion that Lessing had acted as spy on the "German Youth" society, and been sentenced to death by them.

Still, what those obscure students aimed at is now an accomplished fact; and the prediction of Carl Julius Weber in his "Democritos" (published in 1832), that Prussia, united with the smaller German states, would be the dictator of Europe, a reality. But a sad reality for Europe, since it has

> "Thrust back this age of sound industriousness
> To that of military savageness!"

Yes, Germany seems to be retrograding to the days of Hildebrand; for has not Bismarck gone to Canossa, in spite of his assertion he would not do so? and has not the mighty emperor-king knelt to the Pope?

649. *German Feeling against Napoleon.*—Napoleon, whilst he could in Germany form a court composed of kings and princes obedient to his slightest nod, also found implacable and incorruptible individualities, who swore undying hatred to him who ruled half the world. Still, those who opposed the French emperor had no determined plan, and were misled by fallacious hopes; and the leaders, always clever in taking advantage of the popular forces, threw the more daring ones in front like a vanguard, whose destruction is predetermined, in order to fill up the chasm that separates the main body from victory.

650. *Formation and Scope of Tugendbund.*—Two of the men who were the first, or amongst the first, to meditate the downfall of the conqueror before whom all German governments had fallen prostrate, were Count Stadion, the soul of Austrian politics, and Baron Stein,[1] a native of Nassau, who

[1] The original MS. of the great reorganisation projects for the Prussian State, 1807, was found in 1881, in the *gartenhaus* of the Stein family, at Gross-Kochberg, Saalfeld, in Thuringia.

possessed great influence at the Prussian Court. The latter, devoted to monarchical institutions, but also to the independence of his country, groaned when he saw the Prussian Government degraded in the eyes of Europe, and undertook to avenge its humiliation by founding in 1812 the secret society of the "Union of Virtue" (*Tugendbund*), whose first domiciles were at Königsberg and Breslau. Napoleon's police discovered the plot; and Prussia, to satisfy France, had to banish Stein and two other noblemen, the Prince de Wittgenstein and Count Hardenberg, who had joined him in it. But the Union was not dissolved; it only concealed itself more strictly than before in the masonic brotherhood. During Stein's banishment, also, the cause was taken up by Jahn, Professor at the Berlin College, who, knowing the beneficial influence of bodily exercise, in 1811 founded a gymnasium, the first of the kind in Germany, which was frequented by the flower of the youth of Berlin, and the members of which were known as *Turner*, an appellation which is now familiar even to Englishmen. These *Turner* seemed naturally called upon to enter into the Union of Virtue; and Jahn thought the moment fast approaching when the rising against the oppressor was to take place. Among his coadjutors were the poet Arndt; the enthusiastic Schill, who with 400 hussars expected in 1809 to rouse Westphalia and overthrow Jerome Bonaparte; Döremberg, the La Rochejaquelein of Germany, and several others. Stein, in the meanwhile, continued at the court of St. Petersburg the work on account of which he had been exiled. The Russian Court made much of Stein, as a man who might be useful on certain occasions. He was especially protected by the mother of the emperor, in whom he had enkindled the same hatred he himself entertained against France. He kept up his friendship with the Berlin patricians, and had his agents in the court of Prussia, who procured him and Jahn adherents of note, such as General Blücher. Still there was at the Prussian Court a party opposed to the *Tugendbund*, whose chiefs were General Bulow and Schuckmann, who preferred peace to the dignity of their country, and possibly to royal and serene drill-sergeants—who, though no friends to Napoleon, were indifferent to the public welfare. A party quite favourable to the Union of Virtue was that headed by Baron Nostitz, who formed the society of the "Knights of the Queen of Prussia," to defend and avenge that princess, who considered herself to have been calumniated by Napoleon. This party was anxious to wipe away the disgrace of the battle of Jena, so injurious to

the fate, and still more to the honour, of Prussia; and therefore it naturally made common cause with the Tugendbund, which aimed at the same object, the expulsion of the French.

651. *Divisions among Members of Tugendbund.*—The bases of the organisation of the Tugendbund had been laid in 1807 at the assembly at Königsberg, where some of the most noted patriots were present—Stein, Stadion, Blücher, Jahn. The association deliberated on the means of reviving the energy and courage of the people, arranging the insurrectionary scheme, and succouring the citizens injured by foreign occupation. Still there was not sufficient unanimity in the counsels of the association, and an Austrian party began to be formed, which proposed the re-establishment of the German Empire, with the Archduke Charles at its head; but the opposition to this scheme came from the side from which it was least to be expected, from the Archduke himself. Some proposed a northern and a southern state; but the many small courts and provincial interests strongly opposed this proposal. Others wanted a republic, which, however, met with very little favour.

652. *Activity of the Tugendbund.*—One of the first acts of the Union of Virtue was to send auxiliary corps to assist the Russians in the campaign of 1813. Prussia having, by the course of events, been compelled to abandon its temporising policy, Greisenau, Scharnhorst, and Grollmann embraced the military plan of the Tugendbund. A levy *en masse* was ordered. The conduct of these patriots is matter of history. But, like other nations, they fought against Napoleon to impose on their country a more tyrannical government than that of the foreigner had ever been. They fought as men only fight for a great cause, and those who died fancied they saw the dawn of German freedom. But those who survived saw how much they were deceived. The *Tugendbund*, betrayed in its expectations, was dissolved; but its members increased the ranks of other societies already existing, or about to be formed. The "Black Knights," founded in 1815, and so called because they wore black clothes, said to be the old German costume, headed by Jahn, continued to exist after the war, as did "The Knights of the Queen of Prussia." Dr. Lang placed himself at the head of the "Concordists," a sect founded in imitation of similar societies already existing in the German universities. A more important association was that of the "German Union" (*Deutscher Bund*), founded in 1810, whose object was the promotion of representative institutions in the various German states, which Union comprised

within itself the more secret one of the "Unconditionals" (*Die Unbedingten*), whose object was the promotion of Liberal ideas, even without the concurrence of the nation. The Westphalian Government was the first to discover the existence of this society. Its seal was a lion reposing beside the tree of liberty, surmounted by the Phrygian cap. All these societies were in correspondence with each other, and peacefully divided the territory among themselves; whilst the German Union, true to its name, knew no other limits than those of the German confederation. Dr. Jahn was active in Prussia, Dr. Lang in the north, and Baron Nostitz in the south. This latter, by means of a famous actress of Prague, Madame Brode, won over a Hessian prince, who did not disdain the office of grand master.

653. *Hostility of Governments against Tugéndbund.*—After the downfall of Napoleon the German Government, though not venturing openly to attack the Tugendbund, yet sought to suppress it. They assailed it in pamphlets written by men secretly in the pay of Prussia. One of these, Councillor Schmalz, so libelled it as to draw forth indignant replies from Niebuhr and Schleiermacher. What the Germans could least forgive was the scurrilous manner in which Schmalz had calumniated Arndt, the "holy." Schmalz had to fight several duels, and even the favour of the Court of Prussia could not protect him from personal outrages. The king then thought it fit to interfere. He published an ordinance, in which he commanded the dispute to cease; admitted that he had favoured the "literary" society known as the Tugendbund during the days when the country had need of its assistance, but declared that in times of peace secret societies could not be beneficial, but might do a great deal of harm, and therefore forbade their continuance. The action of the Government, however, did not suppress the secret societies, though it compelled them to change their names. The Tugendbund was revived, in 1818, in the *Burschenschaft*, or associations of students of the universities, where they introduced gymnastics and martial exercises. These associations had been projected as early as the year 1810, as appears from Jahn's papers. Their central committee was in Prussia; and sub-committees existed at Halle, Leipzig, Jena, Göttingen, Erlangen, Würzburg, Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Freiburg. Germany was divided into ten circles, and there were two kinds of assemblies, preparatory and secret. This secret section was that of the Black Knights, mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The liberation and independence

of Germany—so, Waterloo had not effected these objects?—was the subject discussed in the latter; and Russia being considered as the greatest opponent of their patriotic aspirations, the members directed their operations especially against Russian influences. It was the hatred against Russia that put the dagger into the hand of Charles Louis Sand, the student of Jena, who stabbed Kotzebue (9th March 1819), who had written against the German societies, of which there was a considerable number. This murder led to a stricter surveillance of the universities on the part of governments, and secret societies were rigorously prohibited under stern penalties; the Prussian Government, especially, being most severe, and prosecuting some of the most distinguished professors for their political opinions. The *Burschenschaft* was broken up, and its objects frustrated, to be revived in 1830; the insurrectionary attempt made by some of the students at Frankfort on the 3rd April 1833, the object of which was the overthrow of the despotic, in order to establish a constitutional, government, led to the prosecution of many members of the *Burschenschaft*, and to the suppression—at least nominally and apparently—of all their secret societies.

XIV

THE BABIS

654. *Bab, the Founder.*—His name—for Bab is a title—was Ali Mohammed, and he is said to have been a Seyyid, or descendant of the family of the Prophet. He was born in 1819 at Shiraz, where his father was a merchant. Ali at first engaged in trade himself, but in 1840 he began to preach his new doctrine, declaring himself to be the Bab,[1] *i.e.* Door of Truth, the Mahdi. In 1843 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, but on his return was arrested by order of the Shah, and from 1844 to 1849 kept in semi-captivity at Ispahan and Tauris, at which latter place he was sentenced to be shot. He was suspended by cords from the walls of the citadel, and a dozen soldiers were ordered to fire at him. When the smoke from their discharges was dispelled the Bab had disappeared—a cleverly-managed manœuvre to establish a miracle. But he was soon after reapprehended, and again condemned to death. The details of his execution are not known; it is reported that he was shot. His long captivity and mysterious death were favourable to the spreading of his doctrine, as also the fact that during his life he was subject to occasional fits of frenzy, and in the East—and sometimes in the West—a madman is considered to be inspired. And the Bab, like all prophets, did not disdain availing himself of mundane means to propagate his new doctrines; he was greatly assisted therein by the eloquence, combined with marvellous personal beauty, of Kurratu'l 'Ayn, a young lady of good family, who early embraced Babism, and suffered martyrdom for it (655). The Bab was examined as to his teaching in 1848 by Nasreddin, then Crown Prince of Persia, afterwards Shah, and a number of Mullahs, the result of which inquiry was that he was sentenced to the bastinado, in consequence of which it is

[1] Bab in Arabic and Chaldean means door, gate, or court; hence we have Babylon, the court of Bel; Babel-Mandeb, the gate of sorrow, probably so called on account of its dangerous navigation and rocky environs.

said he recanted and revoked all his claims; but as we have none but Mussulman historians—his enemies—to rely on, as the examination was held with closed doors, we may doubt this statement.

655. *Progress of Babism.*—The Bab's teaching had not only theological, but also political aims. Persian rulers have always been conservative, but Babism was reformatory, and the common people readily embraced it, as it seemed favourable to the breaking down of the despotic powers exercised by provincial governors, by whom the country was fearfully oppressed. When, therefore, the Babis considered themselves strong enough they seized Mazanderan, about fourteen miles south-east of Barfurush; but the Shah's troops having cut off all supplies, they had to surrender, and were all slain. This was in 1847. In 1848, on the accession of the late Shah a thousand Babis rose against him; they, however, were defeated by Mehdi Kouli Mirza, uncle of the new Shah, and the three hundred survivors who surrendered cruelly slaughtered, though they had been promised their lives. Moulla Mohammed Ali, a Bab leader, in 1849 converted seven thousand of the twelve thousand inhabitants of Zanjan, seized the town, and drove the governor from the citadel; eighteen thousand royal soldiers were sent against him, and more than eight thousand of the combatants killed, and the surviving Babis had to surrender, and were put to death with horrible tortures. In 1850 a follower of Bab, ambitious rather than fanatical, Sayid Yahya Darabi, preached Babism at Niriz, and gathered round him two thousand followers, with whose help he hoped to hold the town. But the Shah's troops attacked him; he was assassinated by being strangled with his own girdle; the starved-out Babis had to yield, and were all cruelly butchered. In 1852 some Babis attempted to murder the Shah; the inquiry following thereon proved that at Ispahan and in all the great towns of Persia there was a vast association of Babis and Loûtis, whose object was the overthrow of the reigning dynasty. All convicted of Babism were seized, and executed openly or in secret; terrible scenes were enacted by the Shah's orders in many towns of Persia during a reign of terror, which lasted nearly two years. The Shah's anger at the attempt, but especially his alarm, was so great, that to test the loyalty of his subjects he devised the "devilish scheme," as one writer calls it, of making all classes of society share in the revenge he took on the Babis. Thus the man who had fired the shot which wounded the king was killed by the farrashes—literally, the

carpet-spreaders, but officially, the lictors of Eastern rulers. They first tortured him by the insertion of lighted candles in incisions made in his body. When the candles were burnt down to the flesh, the fire was for some time fed by that. In the end he was sawn in two. The Master of the Horse and the attendants of the royal stables showed their loyalty by nailing red-hot horse-shoes to the feet of the victim handed over to them, and finally "broke up his head and body with clubs and nails." Another Babi had his eyes plucked out by the artillerymen, and was then blown from a gun. Another Babi was killed by the merchants and shopkeepers of Teheran, every one of whom inflicted a wound on him until he died. Vambéry, in his "Wanderings and Experiences in Persia," mentions one Kasim of Niriz, who was shod with red-hot horse-shoes, had burning candles inserted in his body, all his teeth torn out, and was eventually killed by having his skull smashed in with a club. These are but a few specimens of the cruelties inflicted by order of the amiable gentleman who, on his visits to this country, was so loudly cheered by the assembled crowds. Among the victims of that persecution was Kurratu'l 'Ayn (the Consolation of Eyes), a beautiful and accomplished woman, who professed and preached Babism. The manner of her death is uncertain; some say she was burnt, others that she was strangled. Dr. Polak, who actually witnessed her execution, in his "Persia, the Land and Its Inhabitants," simply says, "I was a witness to the execution of Kurratu'l 'Ayn, which was performed by the Minister of War and his adjutants; the beautiful woman underwent her slow death with superhuman fortitude." He gives no details as to the manner of it. In spite of this persecution, or rather, in consequence of it, Babism spread with astonishing rapidity throughout Persia, even penetrating into India. Not only the lower classes, but persons of education and wealth have joined the sect. The only portion of the Persian population not affected by its doctrines appear to be the Nuseiriyeh and the Christians.

656. *Babi Doctrine.*—It is contained in the Biyyan, the "Expositor," attributed to the Bab himself, and consisting of three parts written at different periods. It is to a great extent rhapsodical, frequently unintelligible. It abounds with mysticism, degenerate Platonism, beliefs borrowed from the Guebres, vestiges of Magism, and in many places displays the influence of a transformed Christianity and French philosophy of the last century, propagated as far

as Persia through masonic lodges, though they were never tolerated in Persia. We shall see further on how one recently established came to grief. The Babi Koran inculcates, among other superstitions, the wearing of amulets, men in the form of a star, women in that of a circle; the cornelian is particularly recommended to be put on the fingers of the dead, all which implies a return to Aramean Paganism. The book maintains the divinity of the Bab; he and his disciples are incarnations of superior powers; forty days after death they reappear in other forms. "God," says the Biyyan, "created the world by His Will; the Will was expressed in words, but words are composed of letters; letters, therefore, possess divine properties." In giving their numerical value to the letters forming the words expressing God, they always produce the same total, viz. 19. Hence the ecclesiastical system of the Babis; their colleges are always composed of 19 priests; the year is divided into 19 months, of 19 days each; the fast of the Ramadan lasts 19 instead of 30 days. During his life Ali Mohammed chose eighteen disciples, called "Letters of the Living," who, together with himself, the "Point" (the Point of Revelation, or "First Point," from which all are created, and unto which all return), constituted the sacred hierarchy of nineteen, called the "First Unity." Now, Mirza Yahya held the fourth place in this hierarchy, and on the death of the "Point," which occurred, as already stated, in 1849, and the first two "Letters," rose to be chief of the sect; but Beha, whose proper name is Mirza Huseyn Ali of Nur, was also included in this unity, and he asserted that he was the one by whom God shall, as Bab had prophesied, make His final revelation; for, be it observed, the Babi Koran, which at present consists of eleven parts only, shall, when complete, contain nineteen, and when that revelation is made, Babism will be finished, and with it will come the end of this present world; for, according to the belief of his followers, the Bab was the forerunner of Saheb-ez-Zeman, the Lord of Ages, who resides in the air, and will not be seen till the day of resurrection.[1] In consequence of the claim of Beha the sect was split up into two divisions, the Behais and the followers of Mirza Yahya Subh-i-Ezel (the Morning of Eternity), and after him called Ezelis. The majority of the sect are Behais, and the exiled chief Yahya lives at Famagusta,

[1] I find this mentioned by one writer only, Professor de Filippi, in his "Viaggio in Persia nel 1862," published in the Italian periodical *Politecnico*, vol. xxii. p. 252, where there is a lengthy account of the Babis.

in Cyprus, where Mr. Browne, the translator of the work "A Traveller's Narrative," visited him in 1890, as he also visited Beha, at Acre, shortly after. The Babis are so far in advance of their Eastern brethren that they wish to raise the status of woman, maintaining that she is entitled to the same civil rights as man; and one of their first endeavours to attain that end is that of abolishing the veil. Various charges, as against all new sects, are made against them; they are accused of being communists, of allowing nine husbands to a woman, of drinking wine, and of other unlawful practices; but proofs are wanting. It is said that they have special modes of salutation, and wear a ring of peculiar form, by which they recognise one another. They arrange their hair in a characteristic manner, and, as a rule, are clothed in white, all which practices, on the part of people who have to conceal their opinions, appears very strange to outsiders. The Bab forbade the use of tobacco, but the prohibition was withdrawn by Beha. Though only half a century old, the sect already possesses a mass of controversial writings on points of faith—for in all ages men have disputed most on what they understood least. The Babis may yet become a great power in the East; in the meantime they afford us an excellent opportunity of watching within our own day the genesis and development of a new religious creed, in which vast power and authority is conferred on the priests, greatly overshadowing that of the king himself, unless he is a member of the sect, which, in fact, if the creed becomes paramount, he must be to preserve his dignity; for, according to the teaching of the founder, he who is not a Babi has no right to any possession, has no civil status. To enhance the influence of the priests, divine service is to be performed with the utmost pomp; the temples are to be adorned with the costliest productions of nature and art.

But it is certain the doctrines of the Babis suit neither the Sunnites nor the Shiites,[1] the latter of whom are the dominant religious party in Persia, and who particularly objected to the Bab's claim of being the promised Mahdi, whose advent was to be ushered in by prodigious signs, which, however, were not witnessed in the Bab's case. The latter also was opposed by the new Sheykhi school. Early

[1] According to the doctrine of the Sunnites, the Imamate, or vice-regency of the prophet, is a matter to be determined by the choice and election of his followers; according to the Shiites, it is a matter altogether spiritual, having nothing to do with popular choice or approval.

in this century Sheykh Ahmad of Ahsa preached a new doctrine, considered heterodox by true believers; still he found many adherents, and on his death, about the year 1827, was succeeded by his disciple Haji Seyyid Kazim of Resht. He died in 1844, prophesying the coming of one greater than himself. Then Mirza Ali Mahammad, who came in contact with some disciples of the deceased Seyyid Kazim, saw his opportunity, and proclaimed himself the Bab; the old Sheykhi party strongly supported him. But some of the followers of Seyyid Kazim did not accept the new prophet, and became, as the new Sheykhi party, his most violent persecutors. The Bab consequently called the leader of the latter party the "Quintessence of Hell-fire," whilst he, in his turn, wrote a treatise against the Bab, entitled, "The Crushing of Falsehood." From such mutual courtesies the transition to mutual recrimination and accusation of objectionable teaching and practice is easy, and consequently quite usual, and therefore not to be too readily believed.

657. *Recent History of Babism.*—The fearful reprisals the late Shah in 1852 took on the sect of the Babis, whatever may be thought of their moral aspect, appear to have had the desired political effect. From that day till the recent assassination of the Shah, the outcome of old grievances, and of an uncalled-for renewal of a fierce persecution, they have committed no overt act of hostility against the Persian Government or people, though their number and strength are now double what they were in 1852. But this has not softened the feeling of the Shah or of the Mullahs against them. This was clearly shown in 1863. In that year a Persian who had travelled in Europe suggested to the Shah the establishment of a masonic lodge, with himself as the grand master, whereby he would have a moral guarantee of the fidelity of his subjects, since all persons of importance and influence would no doubt become members, and masonic oaths cannot be broken. The Shah granted permission, without, however, being initiated himself; a lodge, called the Feramoush-Khanèk, the "House of Oblivion"—since on leaving the lodge the member was supposed to forget all he had seen in it—was speedily opened, and the Shah urged all his courtiers to join it. He then questioned them as to what they had seen in it, but their answers were unsatisfactory; they had listened to some moral discourse, drunk tea, and smoked. The Shah could not understand that the terrible mysteries of Freemasonry, of which he had heard so much, could amount to no more than this; he therefore surmised

that a great deal was withheld from him, and became dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction was taken advantage of by some of his friends who disliked the innovation, and they suggested to him that the lodge was probably the home of the grossest debauchery, and, finally, that it was a meeting-place of Babis. Debauchery the Shah might have winked at, but Babism could not be tolerated. The lodge was immediately ordered to be closed, and the author of its establishment banished from Persia. In quite recent times the Babis have undergone grievous persecutions. In 1888 Seyyid Hasan and Seyyid Huseyn were put to death by order of the then Shah's eldest son, Prince Zillu's Sultan, for refusing to abjure Babism. When dead their bodies were dragged by the feet through the street and bazaars of Ispahan, and cast out of the gate beyond the city walls. In the month of October of the same year Aga Mirza Ashraf of Abade was murdered for his religion, and the Mullas mutilated the poor body in the most savage manner. In 1890 the Babi inhabitants of a district called Seh-deh were attacked by a mob, and seven or eight of them killed, and their bodies burnt with oil. But it appears that on various occasions the Shah restrained the fanaticism of would-be persecutors of the Babis; it did not, however, save him from the vengeance sworn against him by the sect for former persecutions. On the 1st May 1896 Nasreddin Shah, the Defender of the Faith, was shot in the mosque of Shah Abdul Azim, near Teheran, and died immediately after he was brought back to the city. The assassin, who was at once arrested, was Mirza Mahomed Reza of Kirman, a follower of Jemal-ed-din, who was exiled for an attempt at dethroning the Shah in 1891. After Jemal's departure Mahomed Reza was imprisoned; after some time he was set free, but continuing to speak against the Persian Government, he was again imprisoned, but some time after obtained his release, and even a pension from the Shah. He confessed that he was chosen to kill the Shah, and that he bought a revolver for the purpose, but had to wait two months for a favourable opportunity. His execution, some months after the deed—has it inspired the Babis with sufficient dread to deter them from similar attempts in the future?

XV

IRISH SOCIETIES

658. *The White-Boys.* — Ireland, helpless against misery and superstition, misled by hatred against her conquerors, the rulers of England, formed sects to fight not so much the evil, as the supposed authors of the evil. The first secret society of Ireland, recorded in public documents, dates from 1761, in which year the situation of the peasants, always bad, had become unbearable. They were deprived of the right of free pasture, and the proprietors, in seven cases out of nine not Irish landlords, but Englishmen by blood and sympathy, began to enclose the commons. Fiscal oppression also became very great. Reduced to despair, the conspirators had recourse to reprisals, and to make these with more security, formed the secret society of the "White-Boys," so called, because in the hope of disguising themselves, they wore over their clothes a white shirt, like the *Camisards* of the Cevennes. They also called themselves "Levellers," because their object was to level to the ground the fences of the detested enclosures. In November 1761 they spread through Munster, committing all kinds of excesses during the next four-and-twenty years.

659. *Right-Boys and Oak-Boys.*—In 1787 the above society disappeared to make room for the "Right-Boys," who by legal means aimed at obtaining the reduction of imposts, higher wages, the abolition of degrading personal services, and the erection of a Roman Catholic church for every Protestant church in the island. Though the society was guilty of some reprehensible acts against Protestant pastors, it yet, as a rule, remained within the limits of legal opposition. The vicious administration introduced into Ireland after the rising of 1788, the burden of which was chiefly felt by the Roman Catholics, could not but prove injurious to the Protestants also. The inhabitants, whether Catholic or Protestant, were subject to objectionable personal service—hence petitions rejected by the haughty rulers, tumults quenched

in blood, whole populations conquered by fear, but not subdued, and ready to break forth into insurrection when it was least expected. Therefore the Protestants also formed societies for their security, taking for their emblem the oak-leaf, whence they were known as the "Oak-Boys." Their chief object was to lessen the power and imposts of the clergy. Established in 1764, the society made rapid progress, especially in the province of Ulster, where it had been founded. Unable to obtain legally what it aimed at, it had recourse to arms, but was defeated by the royal troops of England, and dissolved.

660. *Hearts-of-Steel, Threshers, Break-of-Day-Boys, Defenders, United Irishmen, Ribbonmen.*—Many tenants of the Marquis of Donegal having about eight years after been ejected from their farms, because the marquis, wanting to raise £100,000, let their holdings to Belfast merchants, they, the tenants, formed themselves into a society called "Hearts-of-Steel," thereby to indicate the perseverance with which they intended to pursue their revenge against those who had succeeded them on the land, by murdering them, burning their farms, and destroying their harvests. They were not suppressed till 1773, when thousands of the affiliated fled to America, where they entered the ranks of the revolted colonists. The legislative union of Ireland with England in 1800 did not at first benefit the former country much. New secret societies were formed, the most important of which was that of the "Threshers," whose primary object was the reduction of the exorbitant dues claimed by the clergy of both persuasions, and sometimes their conduct showed both generous impulses and grim humour. Thus a priest in the county of Longford had charged a poor woman double fees for a christening, on account of there being twins. The Threshers soon paid him a visit, and compelled him to pay a sum of money, with which a cow was purchased, and sent home to the cabin of the poor woman. This was in 1807.

Government called out the whole yeomanry force to oppose these societies, but without much success. Political and religious animosities were further sources of conspiracy. Two societies of almost the same nature were formed about 1785. The first was composed of Protestants, the "Break-of-Day-Boys," who at dawn committed all sorts of excesses against the wretched Roman Catholics, burning their huts, and destroying their agricultural implements and produce. The Roman Catholics in return formed themselves into a society of "Defenders," and from defence, as was natural,

proceeded to aggression. During the revolt of 1798 the Defenders combined with the "United Irishmen," who had initiated the movement. The United Irish were defeated, and their leader, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, having been betrayed by Francis Higgins, originally a pot-boy, and afterwards proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, was taken and condemned to death; but he died of his wounds before the time fixed for his execution. The society of the United Irish, however, was not dispersed. Its members still continued to hold secret meetings, and to reappear in the political arena under the denomination of "Ribbonmen," so named because they recognised each other by certain ribbons. The Ribbonman's oath, which only became known in 1895, was as follows:—"In the presence of Almighty God and this my brother, I do swear that I will suffer my right hand to be cut off my body and laid at the gaol door before I will waylay or betray a brother. That I will persevere, and will not spare from the cradle to the crutch or the crutch to the cradle, that I will not pity the groans or moans of infancy or old age, but that I will wade knee-deep in Orangemen's blood, and do as King James did."

661. *St. Patrick Boys.*—These seem to have issued from the ranks of the Ribbonmen. Their statutes were discovered and published in 1833. Their oath was: "I swear to have my right hand cut off, or to be nailed to the door of the prison at Armagh, rather than deceive or betray a brother; to persevere in the cause to which I deliberately devote myself; to pardon neither sex nor age, should it be in the way of my vengeance against the Orangemen." The brethren recognised each other by dialogues. "Here is a fine day!" "A finer one is to come."—"The road is very bad." "It shall be repaired."—"What with?" "With the bones of Protestants."—"What is your profession of faith?" "The discomfiture of the Philistines."—"How long is your stick?" "Long enough to reach my enemies."—"To what trunk does the wood belong?" "To a French trunk that blooms in America, and whose leaves shall shelter the sons of Erin." Their aim was chiefly the redress of agrarian and social grievances.

662. *The Orangemen.*—This society, against which the St. Patrick Boys swore such terrible vengeance, was a Protestant society. Many farms, taken from Roman Catholics, having fallen into the hands of Protestants, these latter were, as we have seen (660), exposed to the attacks of the former. The Protestants in self-defence formed themselves into a society,

taking the name of "Orangemen," to indicate their Protestant character and principles. Their first regular meeting was held on the 21st September 1795, at the obscure village of Loughgall, which was attended by deputies of the Break-of-Day-Boys (660), and constituted into a grand lodge, authorised to found minor lodges. At first the society had only one degree: Orangeman. Afterwards, in 1796, the Purple degree was added; after that, the Mark Man's degree and the Heroine of Jericho (see 701) were added, but eventually discarded. The oath varied but little from that of the entered Apprentice Mason, for Thomas Wilson, the founder of the Order, was a Freemason. The password was Migdol (the name of the place where the Israelites encamped before they passed through the Red Sea—Exod. xiv. 2); the main password was Shibboleth. The pass sign was made by lifting the hat with the right hand, three fingers on the brim, then putting the three fingers on the crown, and pressing the hat down; then darting off the hand to the front, with the thumb and little finger together. This sign having been discovered, it was changed to exhibiting the right hand with three fingers on the thigh or knee, or marking the figure three with the finger on the knee. This was the half sign; the full sign was by placing the first three fingers of each hand upon the crown of the hat, raising the elbows as high as possible, and then dropping the hand perpendicularly by the side. This sign was said to be emblematical of the lintels and side-posts of the doors, on which the blood of the passover lamb was sprinkled. The distress word of a brother Orangeman was, "Who is on my side? who?" (2 Kings ix. 32). The grand hailing sign was made by standing with both hands resting on the hips. In the Purple degree the member was asked, "What is your number?"—"Two and a half." The grand main word was, "Red Walls" (the Red Sea). The password was Gideon, given in syllables. The society spread over the whole island, and also into England, and especially into the manufacturing districts. A grand lodge was established at Manchester, which was afterwards transferred to London, and its grand master was no less a person than the Duke of York. At the death of that prince, which occurred in 1821, the Duke of Cumberland, afterwards King of Hanover, succeeded him—both of them men to have the interests of religion confided to them! In 1835 the Irish statutes, having been revised, were made public. The society bound its members over to defend the royal family, so long as it remained faithful to

Protestant principles. In the former statutes there were obligations also to abjure the supremacy of the Court of Rome and the dogma of transubstantiation; and although in the modern statutes these were omitted, others of the same tendency were substituted, the society declaring that its object was the preservation of the religion established by law, the Protestant succession of the crown, and the protection of the lives and property of the affiliated. To concede something to the spirit of the age, it proclaimed itself theoretically the friend of religious toleration; but facts have shown this, as in most similar cases, to be a mere illusion. From England the sect spread into Scotland, the Colonies, Upper and Lower Canada, where it reckoned 12,000 members; and into the army, with some fifty lodges. In the United States the society has latterly been showing its toleration! Its political action is well known; it endeavours to influence parliamentary elections, supporting the Whigs. The efforts of the British House of Commons to suppress it have hitherto been ineffectual.

That the custom of indulging in disgraceful mummeries at the ceremony of initiation into this Order has not gone out of fashion, is proved by an action brought in January 1897, in the Middlesex (Massachusetts) Superior Court by one Frank Preble against the officers of a lodge, he having at his initiation been repeatedly struck, when blindfolded, with a rattan, hoisted on a step-ladder, and thrown into a sheet, from which he was several times tossed into the air. Afterwards a red-hot iron was brought to his breast, and he was severely burnt. The jury disagreed, but the outside world will not disagree as to the character of such proceedings.

Other Irish societies, having for their chief object the redress of agrarian and religious grievances, were the "Corders," in East and West Meath; the "Shanavests" and "Caravats" in Tipperary, Kilkenny, Cork, and Limerick; the Whitefeet and Blackfeet, and others, which need not be more fully particularised.

663. *Molly Maguires.*—This Irish sect was the successor of the White-Boys, the Hearts of Oak, and other societies, and carried on its operations chiefly in the West of Ireland. It afterwards spread to America, where it committed great outrages, especially in the Far West. Thus in 1870 the Molly Maguires became very formidable in Utah, where no Englishman was safe from their murderous attacks, and the officers of the law were unable, or unwilling, to bring the criminals to justice. This led to the formation of a counter-

society, consisting of Englishmen, who united themselves into the Order of the Sons of St. George, who were so successful as to cause many of the murderers to be apprehended and executed, and ultimately the Molly Maguires were totally suppressed. The Order of St. George, however, continued to exist, and still exists, as a flourishing benefit society; it has lodges in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and other towns in Utah. The name of Molly Maguires was afterwards adopted by a secret society of miners in the Pennsylvanian anthracite districts; with the name of their Irish prototypes they assumed their habits, the consequence of which was that in 1890 ten or twelve members of the society were hanged, and the society was entirely broken up.

664. *Ancient Order of Hibernians.*—This Order is widely diffused throughout the United States, where it numbers about 6000 lodges. It is divided into two degrees, in the first of which, counting most members, no oath is exacted, and no secrets are communicated. But the second consists of the initiated, bound together by terrible oaths, and who receive their passwords from a central committee, called the Board of Erin, who meet either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and every three months send emissaries to New York with a new password. Their avowed object is the protection of Irishmen in America—they receive only Roman Catholics into the society—but they are accused of having given great encouragement and assistance to the Molly Maguires, above spoken of, and also of having greatly swelled the ranks of the Fenians. The bulk, however, of the Hibernians ignore the criminal objects of their chiefs; hence the toleration they enjoy in the States, a toleration they undoubtedly deserve, for they have recently (November 1896) nobly distinguished themselves by providing £10,000 for the endowment of a chair of Celtic in the Roman Catholic University of New York.

665. *Origin and Organisation of Fenianism.*—The founders of Fenianism were two of the Irish exiles of 1848, Colonel John O'Mahoney and Michael Doheny, the latter one of the most talented and dangerous members of the Young Ireland party, and a fervent admirer of John Mitchel. O'Mahoney belonged to one of the oldest families in Munster, but becoming implicated in Smith O'Brien's machinations and failure, he made his escape to France, and thence to America, where, in conjunction with Doheny and General Corcoran, he set the Fenian Brotherhood afloat. It was at first a semi-secret association; its meetings were secret, and though its

chief officers were publicly known as such, the operations of the Brotherhood were hidden from the public view. It rapidly increased in numbers, spreading through every State of the American Union, through Canada, and the British provinces. But in November 1863 the Fenian organisation assumed a new character. A grand national convention of delegates met at Chicago, and avowed the object of the Brotherhood, namely, the separation of Ireland from England, and the establishment of an Irish republic, the same changes being first to be effected in Canada. Another grand convention was held in 1864 at Cincinnati, the delegates at which represented some 250,000 members, each of which members was called upon for a contribution of five dollars, and this call, it is said, was promptly responded to. Indeed, the reader will presently see that the leaders of the movement were never short of money, whatever the dupes were. One of the resolutions passed at Cincinnati was that "the next convention should be held on Irish soil." About the same time a Fenian Sisterhood was established, and the ladies were not inactive; for in two months from their associating they returned upwards of £200,000 sterling to the Fenian exchequer for the purpose of purchasing arms and other war material. At that period the Fenians confidently relied on the assistance of the American Government. The New York press rather favoured this notion. In Ireland the Brotherhood never attained to the dimensions it reached in the United States, and without the assistance of the latter could do nothing. Still the Irish, as well as the American Fenian, association had its chiefs, officers, both civil and military, its common fund and financial agencies, its secret oaths, passwords, and emblems, its laws and penalties, its concealed stores of arms, its nightly drills, its correspondents and agents, its journals, and even its popular songs and ballads. But traitors soon set to work to destroy the organisation from within. Thus the Head Centre O'Mahoney, who was in receipt of an official salary of 2000 dollars, is thus spoken of in the Official Report of the Investigating Committee of the Fenian Brotherhood of America (1866):—

"After a careful examination of the affairs of the Brotherhood, your Committee finds in almost every instance the cause of Ireland made subservient to individual gain; men who were lauded as patriots sought every opportunity to plunder the treasury of the Brotherhood, but legalised their attacks by securing the endorsement of John O'Mahoney. . . . In John O'Mahoney's integrity the confidence of the

Brotherhood was boundless, and the betrayal of that confidence, whether through incapacity or premeditation, is not a question for us to determine. . . . Sufficient that he has proved recreant to the trust. . . . Never in the history of the Irish people did they repose so much confidence in their leaders; never before were they so basely deceived and treacherously dealt with. In fact, the Moffat mansion (the headquarters of the American Fenians) was not only an almshouse for pauper officials and hungry adventurers, but a general telegraph office for the Canadian authorities and Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister at Washington. These paid patriots and professional martyrs, not satisfied with emptying our treasury, connived at posting the English authorities in advance of our movements."

From this report it further appears that in 1866 there was in the Fenian treasury in the States a sum of 185,000 dollars; that the expenses of the Moffat mansion and the parasites who flocked thither in three months amounted to 104,000 dollars; and that Stephens, the Irish Head Centre, in the same space of time received from America, in money sent to Paris, the sum of upwards of 106,000 dollars, though John O'Mahoney in many of his letters expressed the greatest mistrust of Stephens. He no doubt looked upon the latter as the more clever and daring rogue, who materially diminished his own share of the spoil. Stephens's career in Ireland is sufficiently well known, and there is scarcely any doubt that whilst he was leading his miserable associates to their ruin, he acted as spy upon them, and that there existed some understanding between him and the English authorities. How else can we explain his living for nearly two months in the neighbourhood of Dublin, in a house magnificently furnished, whilst he took no precautions to conceal himself, and yet escaped the vigilance of the police for so long a time? His conduct when at last apprehended, his bravado in the police court and final escape from prison, his traversing the streets of Dublin, sailing for Scotland, travelling through London to France without once being molested—all point to the same conclusion. The only other person of note among the Fenians was John Mitchel, who had been implicated in the troubles of 1848, was transported, escaped, and made his way to the United States. During the civil war which raged in that country he was a supporter of the Southern cause, was taken prisoner by the North, but liberated by the President at the request of the Fenians in America.

The Fenian agitation also spread into England. Meetings

were held in various towns, especially at Liverpool, where men of considerable means were found to support the Fenian objects and organisations; and on one occasion as much as £200 was collected in a few minutes in the room where a meeting was held. But disputes about the money thus collected were ever arising. The man who acted as treasurer to the Liverpool Centre, when accused of plundering his brethren, snapped his fingers at them, and declared that if they bothered him about the money he would give evidence against them and have the whole lot hanged. The Fenians, to raise money, issued bonds to be redeemed by the future Irish Republic, of one of which the following is a facsimile :—

Harp.	£1	Goddess of Liberty.	£1	Shamrock.

Ninety days after the establishment of

THE IRISH REPUBLIC

Redeemable by _____ } Board of
_____ } Finance.

Sunburst.

666. *Origin of Name.*—Irish tradition says that the Fenians were an ancient militia employed on home service for protecting the coasts from invasion. Each of the four provinces had its band, that of Leinster, to which Fionn and his family belonged, being at the head of the others. This Fionn is the Fingal of MacPherson, and the leaders of the movement no doubt saw an advantage in connecting their party with the historical and traditionary glories of Ireland. But the Fenians were not confined to Erin. The name was invented for the society by O'Mahoney, but the Irish never adopted it; they called their association the Irish Republican Brotherhood, or briefly, the I. R. B. Fenianism was officially restricted to the American branch of the movement.

667. *Fenian Litany.*—From the Patriotic Litany of Saint Lawrence O'Toole, published for the use of the Fenian Brotherhood, the following extract may suffice :—

"Call to thine aid, O most liberty-loving O'Toole, those Christian auxiliaries of power and glory—the soul-inspiring cannon, the meek and faithful musket, the pious rifle, and the conscience-examining pike, which, tempered by a martyr's faith, a Fenian's hope, and a rebel's charity, will triumph

over the devil, and restore to us our own in our own land for ever. Amen.

O'Toole, hear us.
From English civilisation,
From British law and order,
From Anglo-Saxon cant and freedom,
From the hest of the English Queen,
From Rule Britannia,
From the cloven hoof,
From the necessity of annual rebellion,
From billeted soldiery,
From a pious church establishment,
} *O'Toole, deliver us!*

Fenianism to be stamped out like the cattle plague!

We will prove them false prophets, O'Toole.

Ireland reduced to obedience,
Ireland loyal to the crown,
Ireland pacified with concessions,
Ireland to recruit the British army,
Ireland not united in effort,
} *It is a falsehood, O'Toole.*

Ireland never again to be dragged at the tail of any other nation!

Proclaim it on high, O'Toole.

668. *Events from* 1865 *to* 1871.—In speaking of Stephens, it was mentioned that he was a spy on the Fenians, but he was not the only informer that betrayed his confederates to the English Government; which latter, in consequence of "information thus received," made its first descent on the Brotherhood in 1865, at the office of the *Irish People*, and captured some of the leading Fenians. Shortly after, it seized Stephens, who, however, was allowed to make his escape from Richmond Prison, where he had been confined, in the night of November 24 of the above year. Further arrests took place in other parts of Ireland, and also at Liverpool, Manchester, and other English towns. The prisoners were indicted for treason-felony, and sentenced to various degrees of punishment. Various raids into Canada, and the attempt on Chester Castle, all ending in failure, next showed that Fenianism was still alive. But it was more prominently again brought before the public by the attack at Manchester, in September 1867, on the police van conveying two leaders of the Fenian conspiracy, Kelly and Deasey, to the city prison, who were enabled to make their

escape, whilst Sergeant Brett was shot dead by William O'Meara Allen, who was hanged for the deed. A still more atrocious and fatal Fenian attempt was that made on the Clerkenwell House of Detention, with a view of liberating two Fenian prisoners, Burke and Casey, when a great length of the outer wall of the prison was blown up by gunpowder, which also destroyed a whole row of houses opposite, killed several persons, and wounded and maimed a great number. On that occasion again Government had received information of the intended attempt by traitors in the camp, but strangely enough failed to take proper precautionary measures. On December 24, 1867, the Fenians made an attack on the Martello Tower at Fota, near Queenstown, Co. Cork, and carried off a quantity of arms and ammunition; and their latest exploit, in 1871, was another Canadian raid, when they crossed the border at Pembina, and seized the Canadian Custom-House and Hudson's Bay post. They were, however, attacked and dispersed by American troops, and General O'Neil was made prisoner. This raid, the object of which was to secure a base of action, and also to receive from the American Government a recognition of belligerency, was carried out totally independently of the new Irish Fenian confederation, of which O'Donovan Rossa was the moving spirit; and the Irish papers therefore pooh-poohed the account of this *fiasco* altogether, or merely gave the telegrams, denying that the enterprise had any connection with Fenianism. About this time it seemed as if the Fenian Brotherhood was breaking up; O'Donovan Rossa retired from the "Directory" of the confederation, and went into the wine trade. The Fenians themselves denounced the notorious Stephens, who reappeared in America, as a "traitor" and government informer; and though the acquittal of Kelly for the murder of head-constable Talbot seemed to point to a strong sympathy surviving amongst the Irish people with Fenianism, the jury perhaps could give no other verdict than the one they arrived at, the prosecution having been altogether mismanaged by the Government.

669. *The Soi-disant General Cluseret.*—Another personage had in the meantime become connected with the Fenians, a *soi-disant* General Cluseret, who had been a captain in the French army, but had been compelled to quit it in consequence of some irregularity in the regimental funds, of which Cluseret had kept the books and the cash. He afterwards served with Garibaldi in Sicily, and Fremont in the

United States, after which he bestowed on himself the rank of General. He came to Europe with the mission of reporting to the Fenians of New York on English arsenals, magazines, and ports of entry. In an article published by him in *Fraser* in 1872, entitled, "My Connection with Fenianism," he tells the world that he offered to command the Fenians if 10,000 men could be raised, but the money to do so was not forthcoming. He asserted that he had communications with the Reform League, whose members favoured his designs; but he failed, as he says, because he had a knot of self-seekers and ignorant intriguers to deal with; "and traitors," he might have added, for it is certain that the intended attack on Chester Castle failed because the English Government had had early notice of the plot. A rising Cluseret attempted to head in Ireland came to grief, and the general speedily made his escape to France, where he became mixed up with the Commune (507).

670. *Phœnix Park Murders, and Consequences.*—Fenianism for a time was quiescent, but about 1880 the Land League was established, and by its agents, the "Moonlighters," entered on a course of outrages, chiefly against farmers for paying rent, which has not yet ceased, though their leader, D. Connell, and a number of his followers were apprehended early in 1882. This year was farther distinguished in the annals of crime by the murder of Lord F. Cavendish, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Thomas Burke, the Under-Secretary, in Phœnix Park, Dublin; but the assassins were not apprehended until January 1883, one of the guilty parties, James Carey, having turned informer. He received a pardon, and was sent out of the country, but shortly after shot by O'Donnell, who was executed for this murder. The law, of course, cannot sanction the slaying of an informer, but public sentiment says, "Served him right," especially in this case, as Carey was as deeply implicated in the Phœnix Park murders as any of the other criminals. The trial of these led to the disclosure of an organisation known as the "Irish Invincibles," whose chief was P. J. Tynan, who passed under the sobriquet of Number One, and which organisation was the instigator and executor of the Phœnix Park and of many other murders, including, for instance, the massacre of the Maamtrasna family.

671. *Dynamite Outrages.*—In this year (1882) the Fenians began the use of dynamite; a large quantity of this material was discovered, together with a quantity of arms, concealed in a vault in the town of Cork; later on the Fenians

attempted the storing up of dynamite and arms in London and other English towns; a considerable number of rifles and large quantities of ammunition were seized in a house at Islington in July 1882; dynamite was sent to this country from America, but its introduction being difficult, the Fenians attempted to manufacture it here; a laboratory, stocked with large quantities of the raw and finished material, was discovered at Ladywood, near Birmingham, in April 1883. Still, the explosive and infernal machines continued to be smuggled into this country, and attempts were made to blow up public buildings in London and elsewhere, the attempts, however, doing, fortunately in most cases, but little harm. One of the most serious was the one made at Glasgow early in 1883. In a manifesto issued in April 1884 by the Fenian brotherhood, signed by Patrick Joyce, secretary, the Fenians call this "inaugurating scientific warfare," and declare their intention to persevere until they have attained their object, the freedom of Ireland. In December 1884 an attempt to blow up London Bridge with dynamite had no other result but to blow up the two men who made the attempt; the chief instigators of all these attempts were two American organisations; the first was that of O'Donovan Rossa, the second that of the association called the Clan-na-Gael. Rossa had agents in Cork, London, and Glasgow; but two of the most important, Fetherstone (whose real name is Kennedy) and Dalton, were apprehended, and sentenced to penal servitude for life. Since then the party of Rossa has been powerless. An unsuccessful attempt on O'Donovan Rossa's life was made early in 1885 by an English lady, a Mrs. Dudley. Within a fortnight after an advertisement appeared in O'Donovan's paper, offering a reward of ten thousand dollars for the body of the Prince of Wales, dead or alive. And yet, but a few months ago (1896), this would-be assassin, or instigator of assassination, was permitted to walk about in England, in perfect freedom, and even to enter the Houses of Parliament! The Clan-na-Gael is a more serious affair; originally it was a purely patriotic scheme for the removal of British power over Ireland; it did not advocate the slaughter of innocent people by the indiscriminate use of dynamite. But eventually a certain violent faction obtained control, and gained possession of the large funds of the Clan, the bulk of which they absorbed for their own enrichment. Dr. Cronin, who could have proved this, was murdered. The branches of the Clan-na-Gael extend over the whole

of the United States. Its heads are three in number: Alexander Sullivan, of Chicago; General Michael Kerwin, of New York; and Colonel Michael Boland, of the same city. Sullivan was a great friend of Patrick Egan, the treasurer of the Land League. One of the agents of the Clan-na-Gael was John Daly, who intended to blow up the House of Commons by throwing a dynamite bomb on the table of the House from the Strangers' Gallery. He was arrested at Chester in April 1884, and sentenced to penal servitude for life. The attempts on the House of Commons, and the explosions at the Tower and Victoria Railway Station, were also the work of the Clan-na-Gael, twenty-five members of which have been condemned to penal servitude, two-thirds of them for life. John S. Walsh, residing in Paris, and the Ford family in America, are also known as dangerous agents of the association. The dynamiters were not quite so active after the capture and conviction of so many of their party, but confined themselves to occasional and comparatively insignificant attempts, but murder was rife in Ireland. These events, however, are now, thanks to the Report of the Judges of the Parnell Commission, so easily accessible to every reader, that they need not be specified here.

672. *The National League.*—This is scarcely an association, though generally considered such. It is not an Irish production, but created in a foreign land, and directed by foreign agents, whose designs are unknown. The people have given their allegiance to it because of the large bribes it offered to their cupidity, and the fear it inspired. The secret societies give the League their assistance, without which it would be powerless. But the real heads who direct the operations of the rank and file keep carefully out of the way; but whilst the rank and file know they have nothing to fear from the people, who will not give them up, they know that any one of their own body may at any time betray them by turning informer. The Invincibles held their own for a long time, but once the police got hold of them, informers appeared in every direction. This shows, according to Ross — of — Bladensburg, in *Murray's Magazine*, December 1887, from which I quote, that the Irish have no real faith in their own cause; that they are not, like the Nihilists, honest patriots, prepared to suffer in a cause they consider just, but a people led astray by a band of selfish agitators, whose machinations are pleasantly exposed in the following passages, with which

I will endeavour to give an enlivening finish to this necessarily dry account of the Fenian movement up to 1888.

673. *Comic Aspects of Fenianism.*—In "The New Gospel of Peace according to St. Benjamin," an American publication of the year 1867, the author says: "About those days there arose certain men, Padhees, calling themselves Phainyans, who conspired together to wrest the isle of Ouldairin from the queen of the land of Jonbool. Now it was from the isle of Ouldairin that the Padhees came into the land of Unculpsalm. . . . Although the Padhees never had established government or administered laws in Ouldairin, they diligently sought instead thereof to have shyndees therein, first with the men who sought to establish a government for them; but if not with them, then with each other. . . . Now the Padhees in the land of Unculpsalm said one to another, Are we not in the land of Unculpsalm, where the power of Jonbool cannot touch us, and we are many and receive money; let us therefore conspire to make a great shyndee in the isle of Ouldairin. . . . And they took a large upper room and they placed men at the outside of the outer door, clad in raiment of green and gold, and having drawn swords in their hands. For they said, How shall men know that we are conspiring secretly, unless we set a guard over ourselves? And they chose a chief man to rule them, and they called him the Hid-Sinter, which, being interpreted, is the top-middle; for, in the tongue of the Padhees, *hid* is top, and *sinter* is middle. . . . And it came to pass that after many days the Hid-Sinter sent out tax-gatherers, and they went among the Padhees, and chiefly among the Bidhees throughout the city of Gotham, and the other cities in the land of Unculpsalm, and they gathered tribute, . . . and the sum thereof was great, even hundreds of thousands of pieces of silver. Then the Hid-Sinter and his chief officers took unto themselves a great house and spacious in the city of Gotham, . . . and fared sumptuously therein, and poured out drink-offerings night and day unto the isle of Ouldairin. And they set up a government therein, which they called the government of Ouldairin, and chose unto themselves certain lawgivers, which they called the Sinnit. . . . Now it came to pass when certain of the Padhees, Phainyans, saw that the Hid-Sinter and his chief officers . . . fared sumptuously every day, . . . and lived as if all their kinsfolk were dying day by day, and there was a ouaic without end, that their souls were moved with envy, and they said each within his own heart, Why should

I not live in a great house and fare sumptuously? But unto each other and unto the world they said: Behold, the Hid-Sinter and his officers do not govern Ouldairn righteously, and they waste the substance of the people. Let us therefore declare their government to be at an end, and let us set up a new government, with a new Hid-Sinter, and a new Sinnit, even ourselves. And they did so. And they declared that the first Hid-Sinter was no longer Hid-Sinter, but that their Hid-Sinter was the real Hid-Sinter, . . . and moreover they especially declared that tribute-money should no more be paid to the first Hid-Sinter, but unto theirs. But the first Hid-Sinter and his officers would not be set at nought, . . . and so it came to pass that there were three governments for the isle of Ouldairn; one in the land of Jonbool, and two in the city of Gotham in the land of Unculpsalm. But when the Phanyans gathered unto themselves men, Padhees, in the island of Ouldairin, who went about there in the night-time, with swords and with spears and with staves, the governors sent there by the queen of Jonbool took those men and cast some of them into prison, and banished others into a far country," &c.

674. *Events from* 1888 to 1896.—The revelations made in 1888 and 1890 before the "Special Commission," have rendered the history of the Fenian conspiracy quite familiar up to that date. Of subsequent events the following are noteworthy. On the 22d October 1890 the Convention of the Fenian brotherhood in America was held at New Jersey, when it was resolved to make it an open association—*de facto*, it was already so after the disclosures before the Commission—the council only being bound by oath, and that the object should be to form naval and military volunteer forces to aid the United States in the event of war with any foreign State. At a convention held at New York in July 1891, it was again argued that the only organisation now advisable was one with a military basis. The Clan-na-Gael continued to hold abortive meetings; outrages of every kind, including murder, were rife in Ireland up to 1892, since which time Ireland is supposed to be pacified, though the frequently repeated dynamite outrages in England, and the revival of Fenianism in America, would lead to a very different conclusion. As to this revival, the Irish Convention, commonly called "the physical force convention," met in September 1895 at Chicago, and resolved on the formation of a permanent organisation for the recovery, by arms, of Irish independence. Among the delegates—there were more than one thousand

present—were O'Donovan Rossa and Tynan (No. 1), and the chairman, Mr. John Finerty, ex-member of Congress.

In August 1896 a Belfast paper stated that, owing to the discovery of a secret society of Ribbonmen in Armagh, special detective duty had been ordered by the constabulary authorities at Dublin Castle.

And yet, in spite of all this, Government has recently released some of the most atrocious dynamiters, originally and justly sentenced to lifelong penal servitude!

In September 1896, the notorious Patrick Tynan, known under the name of No. 1, and who was implicated in the Phœnix Park murders, was arrested at Boulogne; but the demand of the British Government for his extradition was refused by that of France, on the grounds that sufficient evidence identifying him with No. 1 had not been produced; that even if such identification were established, there was not sufficient proof to identify Tynan as one of the men who participated in the murder of Mr. Burke; and, lastly, that his case was covered by "prescription," which in France is acquired after ten years, an extension to twenty years being allowed only after a trial at which the accused had been present. But Tynan had effected his escape after the murders. And so he was set at liberty by the French Government, though it was shown that he had been in frequent communication whilst at Boulogne with English dynamiters, plotting against England at that very time. Of course the French acted on the strict letter of the Code Napoleon and of the Extradition Treaty between the two countries; but when the law and the treaty afford such loopholes to the vilest of criminals, it is high time both were revised. On his release from the French prison, Tynan wrote a long letter to his wife—why should it be published?—in which he expresses his admiration of Russian civilisation (!), and thanks God for tempering the wind to the shorn lamb (!). Beware of a murderer who gives vent to such language; he is more dangerous than the one who is violent and brutal in his speech.

675. *Most Recent Revelations.*—One of the dynamiters whom Tynan had been in close and recent communication with was Edward J. Ivory, *alias* Bell, an American, who had been apprehended on British territory, and was charged at the Bow Street Police Court, on the 13th November 1896, with conspiring with others to cause dynamite explosions within the United Kingdom. He was committed for trial, but when that took place at the Old Bailey, in January 1897,

the prosecution, in spite of the fact that the prisoner's movements gave room for very grave suspicions, suddenly collapsed on a purely technical point, and Ivory was, by the judge's direction, pronounced "Not guilty" by the jury, and of course immediately discharged. Were it necessary to vindicate the impartiality of English justice, and its tender regard for the interests and claims of a person accused, the issue of this trial would afford a very striking and honourable instance of both. How far the interests of justice, the maintenance of law, and the dignity of the country are served by such verdicts, is altogether a different question, the answer to which cannot be satisfactory.

BOOK XIV

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIETIES

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676. *A B C Friends, The.*—A society whose avowed scope was the education of children, its real object the liberty of man. They called themselves members of the A B C, letters which in French are pronounced *abaissé;* but the abased that were to be raised were the people. The members were few, but select. They had two lodges in Paris during the Restoration. Victor Hugo has introduced the society in *Les Misérables*, part iii. book iv.

677. *Abelites.*—A Christian sect, existing in the neighbourhood of Hippo, in North Africa, in the fourth century. The members married, but abstained from conjugal intercourse, because, as they maintained, Abel had lived thus, since no children of his are mentioned. To maintain the sect, they adopted children, male and female.

A sect having the same name existed in the middle of the last century, who professed to imitate Abel in all his virtues. They had secret signs, symbols, passwords, and rites of initiation. Their principal meetings were held at Greifswald, near Stralsund, at which they amused themselves with moral and literary debating.

678. *Academy of the Ancients.*—It was founded at Warsaw by Colonel Toux de Salverte, in imitation of a similar society, and with the same name, founded in Rome towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. The object of its secret meetings was the cultivation of the occult sciences.

679. *Almusseri.*—This is an association similar to that of "Belly Paaro," found among the negroes of Senegambia and other parts of the African continent. The rites of initiation bear some resemblance to the Orphic and Cabiric rituals. In the heart of an extensive forest there rises a temple, access to which is forbidden to the profane. The receptions take place once a year. *The candidate feigns to die.* At the appointed hour the initiated surround the aspirant and chant funereal songs; whereupon he is carried to the temple, placed on a moderately hot plate of copper, and anointed with the oil of the palm—a tree which the Egyptians dedicated to the sun, as they ascribed to it three hundred and

sixty-five properties. In this position he remains forty days —this number, too, constantly recurs in antiquity—his relations visiting him to renew the anointing, after which period he is greeted with joyful songs and conducted home. He is supposed to have received a new soul, and enjoys great consideration and authority among his tribe.

680. *Anonymous Society.*—This society, which existed for some time in Germany, with a grand master resident in Spain, occupied itself with alchymy.

681. *Anti-Masonic Party.*—In 1826 a journalist, William Morgan, who had been admitted to the highest masonic degrees, published at New York a book revealing all their secrets. The Freemasons carried him off in a boat, and he was never afterwards seen again. His friends accused the Masons of having assassinated him. The latter asserted that he had drowned himself in Lake Ontario, and produced a corpse, which, however, was proved to be that of one Monroe. Judiciary inquiries led to no result. Most of the officers, it is said, were themselves Masons. The indignation caused by the crime and its non-punishment led to the formation, in the State of New York, of an Anti-Masonic party, whose object was to exclude from the public service all members of the masonic fraternity. But the society soon degenerated into an electioneering engine. About fifty years after the occurrence, Thurlow Weed published, from personal knowledge, precise information as to Morgan's assassination by the Freemasons. His grave was discovered in 1881 at Pembroke, in the county of Batavia, State of New York, and in the grave also was found a paper, bearing on it the name of a Freemason called John Brown, whom, at the time, public rumour made one of the assassins of Morgan. To this latter a statue was erected at Batavia in 1882. Certain American travellers, indeed, asserted having, years after, met Morgan at Smyrna, where he taught English; but their assertions were supported by no proofs.

682. *Anti-Masons.*—This was a society founded in Ireland, in County Down, in 1811, and composed of Roman Catholics, whose object was the expulsion of all Freemasons, of whatever creed they might be.

683. *Apocalypse, Knights of the.*—This secret society was formed in Italy in 1693, to defend the Church against the expected Antichrist. Augustine Gabrino, the son of a merchant of Brescia, was its founder. On Palm-Sunday, when the choir in St. Peter's was intoning the words, *Quis est iste Rex Gloriæ?* Gabrino, carrying a sword in his

hand, rushed among the choristers, exclaiming, *Ego sum Rex Gloriæ*. He did the same in the church of San Salvatore, whereupon he was shut up in a madhouse. The society, however, continued to flourish until a wood-carver, who had been initiated, denounced it to the Inquisition, which imprisoned the knights. Most of them, though only traders and operatives, always carried a sword, even when at work, and wore on the breast a star with seven rays and an appendage, symbolising the sword seen by St. John in the Apocalypse. The society was accused of having political aims. It is a fact that the founder called himself Monarch of the Holy Trinity, which is not extraordinary in a madman, and wanted to introduce polygamy, for which he ought to be a favourite with the Mormons.

684. *Areoiti.*—This is a society of Tahitian origin, and has members throughout that archipelago. They have their own genealogy, hierarchy, and traditions. They call themselves the descendants of the god Oro-Tetifa, and are divided into seven (some say into twelve) degrees, distinguished by the modes of tattooing allowed to them. The society forms an institution similar to that of the Egyptian priests; but laymen also may be admitted. The chiefs at once attain to the highest degrees, but the common people must obtain their initiation through many trials. Members enjoy great consideration and many privileges. They are considered as the depositaries of knowledge, and as mediators between God and man, and are feared as the ministers of the *taboo*, a kind of excommunication they can pronounce, like the ancient hierophants of Greece or the court of Rome. Though the ceremonies are disgusting and immoral, there is a foundation of noble ideas concealed under them; so that we may assume the present rites to be corruptions of a formerly purer ceremonial. The meaning that underlies the dogmas of the initiation is the generative power of nature. The legend of the solar god also here plays an important part, and regulates the festivals; and a funereal ceremony, reminding us of that of the mysteries of antiquity, is performed at the winter solstice. Throughout Polynesia, moreover, there exists a belief in a supreme deity, *Taaroa*, *Tongola*, or *Tangaroa*, of whom a cosmogonic hymn, known to the initiated, says: "He was; he was called *Taaroa;* he called, but no one answered; he, the only *ens*, transformed himself into the universe; he is the light, the germ, the foundation; he, the incorruptible; he is great, who created the universe, the great universe."

685. *Avengers, or Vendicatori.*—A secret society formed about 1186 in Sicily, to avenge public wrongs, on the principles of the Vehm and Beati Paoli. At length Adiorolphus of Ponte Corvo, grand master of the sect, was hanged by order of King William II. the Norman, and many of the sectaries were branded with a hot iron.

686. *Belly Paaro.*—Among the negroes of Guinea there are mysteries called "Belly Paaro," which are celebrated several times in the course of a century. The aspirant, having laid aside all clothing, and every precious metal, is led into a large wood, where the old men that preside at the initiation give him a new name, whilst he recites verses in honour of the god Belly, joins in lively dances, and receives much theological and mystical instruction. The neophyte passes five years in absolute isolation, and woe to any woman that dares to approach the sacred wood! After this novitiate the aspirant has a cabin assigned to him, and is initiated into the most secret doctrines of the sect. Issuing thence, he dresses differently from the others, his body being adorned with feathers, and his neck showing the scars of the initiatory incisions.

687. *Californian Society.* — Several Northern Californian tribes have secret societies, which meet in a lodge set apart, or in a sweat-house, and engage in mummeries of various kinds, all to frighten their women. The men pretend to converse with the devil, and make their meeting-place shake and ring again with yells and whoops. In some instances one of their number, disguised as the master-fiend himself, issues from the lodge, and rushes like a madman through the village, doing his best to frighten contumacious women and children out of their senses. This has been the custom from time immemorial, and the women are still gulled by it.

688. *Cambridge Secret Society.*—In 1886 a number of young men formed the "Companions of St. John" secret society, under the leadership of the Rev. Ernest John Heriz-Smith, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College. In 1896 it was supposed to number upwards of one thousand members. The primary and avowed object was to inculcate High Church principles and confession; its real object to be a member of a secret society. They took an oath; the candidate had his hands tied, knelt at a table, had his eyes bandaged, and took a vow to obey the head of the society in all things, and never to mention anything relating to the society except to a member. If he disobeyed he was sent to his room, and tied to a table leg. They wore for some time a badge with

the letters L and D (Love and Duty); afterwards they wore it concealed under their clothes, whence the members were named "Belly-banders." Whether this society still exists, or whether ridicule has killed it, we cannot say.

689. *Charlottenburg, Order of.*—This was one of the numerous branches grafted on the trunk of the Union of Virtue.

690. *Church Masons.*—This is a masonic rite, founded in this country during this century, with the scarcely credible object of re-establishing the ancient masonic trade-unions.

691. *Cougourde, The.*—An association of Liberals at the time of the restoration of the Bourbons in France. It arose at Aix, in Provence, and thence spread to various parts of France. Its existence was ephemeral. Cougourde is French for the calabash gourd.

692. *Druids, Modern.*—This society, the members of which pretend to be the successors of the ancient Druids, was founded in London in 1781. They adopted masonic rites, and spread to America and Australia. Their lodges are called groves; in the United States they have thirteen grand groves, and ninety-two groves, twenty-four of which are English, and the remainder German. The number of degrees are three, but there are also grand arch chapters. The transactions of the German groves are printed, but those of the English kept strictly secret. In 1872 the Order was introduced from America into Germany. The Order is simply a benefit society.

693. *Duk-Duk.*—A secret association on the islands of New Pomerania, originally New Britain, whose hideously masked or chalk-painted members execute justice, and collect fines. In carrying out punishment they are allowed to set houses on fire or kill people. They recognise one another by secret signs, and at their festivals the presence of an uninitiated person entails his death. Similar societies exist in Western Africa (see 723).

694. *Egbo Society.*—An association said to exist among some of the tribes inhabiting the regions of the Congo. Egbo, or Ekpé, is supposed to be a mysterious person, who lives in the jungle, from which he has to be brought, and whither he must be taken back by the initiates alone after any great state ceremonial. Egbo is the evil genius, or Satan. His worship is termed Obeeyahism, the worship of Obi, or the Devil. Ob, or Obi, is the old Egyptian name for the spirit of evil, and devil-worship is practised by many barbarous tribes, as, for instance, by the Coroados and the

Tupayas, in the impenetrable forests between the rivers Prado and Doce in Brazil, the Abipones of Paraguay, the Bachapins, a Caffre tribe, the negroes on the Gold Coast, and firmly believed in by the negroes of the West Indies, they being descended from the slaves formerly imported from Africa.

In the ju-ju houses of the Egbo society are wooden statues, to which great veneration is paid, since by their means the society practise divination. Certain festivals are held during the year, when the members wear black wooden masks with horns, which it is death for any woman to see. There are three degrees in the Egbo society; the highest is said to confer such influence that from £1000 to £1500 are paid for attaining it.

695. *Fraticelli.*—A sect who were said to have practised the custom of self-restraint under the most trying circumstances of disciplinary carnal temptation. They were found chiefly in Lombardy; and Pope Clement V. preached a crusade against them, and had them extirpated by fire and sword, hunger and cold. But they were guilty of a much higher crime than the one for which they were ostensibly persecuted; they had denounced the tyranny of the popes, and the abuses of priestly power and wealth, which of course deserved nothing less than extermination by fire and sword!

696. *Goats, The.*—About the year 1770 the territory of Limburg was the theatre of strange proceedings. Churches were sacked, castles burnt down, and robberies were committed everywhere. The country people were trying to shake off the yoke feudalism had imposed on them. During the night, and in the solitude of the *landes*, the most daring assembled and marched forth to perpetrate these devastations. Then terror spread everywhere, and the cry was heard, "The Goats are coming!" They were thus called, because they wore masks in imitation of goats' faces over their own. On such nights the slave became the master, and abandoned himself with fierce delight to avenging the wrongs he had suffered during the day. In the morning all disappeared, returning to their daily labour, whilst the castles and mansions set on fire in the night were sending their lurid flames up to the sky. The greater the number of malcontents, the greater the number of Goats, who at last became so numerous that they would undertake simultaneous expeditions in different directions in one night. They were said to be in league with the devil, who, in the

form of a goat, was believed to transport them from one place to another. The initiation into this sect was performed in the following manner:—In a small chapel situate in a dense wood, a lamp was lighted during a dark and stormy night. The candidate was introduced into the chapel by two godfathers, and had to run round the interior of the building three times on all-fours. After having plentifully drunk of a strong fermented liquor, he was put astride on a wooden goat hung on pivots. The goat was then swung round, faster and faster, so that the man, by the strong drink and the motion, soon became giddy, and sometimes almost raving mad; when at last he was taken down, he was easily induced to believe that he had been riding through space on the devil's crupper. From that moment he was sold, body and soul, to the society of Goats, which, for nearly twenty years, filled Limburg with terror. In vain the authorities arrested a number of suspected persons; in vain, in all the communes, in all the villages, gibbet and cord were in constant request. From 1772 to 1774 alone the tribunal of Foquemont had condemned four hundred Goats to be hanged or quartered. The society was not exterminated till about the year 1780.

697. *Grand Army of the Republic.*—A secret society founded after the Civil War in the Northern States of America, to afford assistance to indigent veterans and their families. The Order is a purely military one; its chief is called the Commandant-General, the central authority the National Camp, and subordinate sections are styled Posts. In 1887 the society counted 370,000 members.

698. *Green Island.*—A society formed at Vienna in 1855. The language used at their meetings was a parody on the knightly style as it was supposed to have been; its object was merely amusement. The society reckoned many literary men of note among its members. Whence it took its name is not clear, but it appears to have been a revival of the Order of Knights founded in 1771. See *infra*, under "Knights, Order of."

699. *Harngari.*—A secret society, dating from 1848, among Germans in North America. They pretended to be descended from an ancient German order of knighthood, and possess about two hundred lodges, with 16,000 members. The diffusion of the German language is one of their chief objects. But why surround themselves with the mist of secrecy but from a childish love for mystery-mongering?

700. *Hemp-smokers, African.*—At Kashia-Calemba, the capital of the natives of Bashilangé-Baluba, in Africa (lat. 3° 6′, long. 21° 24′), a sacred fire is always kept up in the central square by old people, appointed for the purpose, who also have to cultivate and prepare for smoking the chiamba (*Cannabis indica*); it is known in Zanzibar as Changi or Chang. It is smoked privately, and also ceremonially as a token of friendship, and is also administered to accused persons as a species of ordeal. As the symbol of friendship, it is considered as a religious rite, known as "Lubuku," practised by an organisation, of which the king is *ex officio* the head; a social organisation only indirectly of political importance. Its rules, signs, and working are secret; its aims and objects unknown to outsiders; its initiatory rites have never been witnessed by an uninitiated person, much less by any European. Certain external evidences of its inward nature are however sufficiently obvious to all who care to investigate the subject. Chiamba-smoking has a most disastrous effect on both the health and wealth of its devotees. A dark inference of its true nature may be drawn from the lax, and indeed promiscuous, intercourse between the sexes. Another indication of its licentiousness is afforded by the customs observed at the marriages of its male members, and repeated for three successive nights, in which all decency is outraged in the most revolting and most public way imaginable. The initiatory rites are performed generally by the king, or by Meta Sankolla, the present king's sister, on an islet in the Lulua, an affluent of the Sankoro River, a short distance above Luluaburg, a European station on the top of a hill 400 feet above the river. The public smoking is begun by the chief or senior man present placing the prepared weed in the "Kinsu dhiamba," or pipe, and after smoking a little himself, passing it on to the man next to him. The pipe consists of a small clay bowl, inserted in the larger end of a hollow gourd, the smaller end of which has a large aperture, against which the smoker places his mouth and inhales the smoke in great gulps, till his brain is affected, and he becomes for a time a raving madman.

701. *Heroine of Jericho.*—This degree is conferred, in America, exclusively on Royal Arch Masons, their wives and widows. Its ritual is founded on the story of Rahab, in the second chapter of the Book of Joshua. The first sign is in imitation of the scarlet line which Rahab let down from the window to assist the spies to make their

escape. It is made by holding a handkerchief between the lips and allowing it to hang down. The grand hailing sign of distress is given by raising the right hand and arm, holding the handkerchief between the thumb and forefinger, so that it falls perpendicularly. The word is given by the male heroine (not the candidate's husband) placing his hand on her shoulder and saying, "My Life," to which the candidate replies, "For yours." The male then says, "If ye utter not," to which the candidate answers, "This our business." The word Rahab is then whispered in the lady's ear. The latter swears never to reveal this grand secret. She is told that Rahab was the founder of the Order, but it was most probably invented by those who were concerned in the murder of William Morgan (681), who, by swearing their female relatives to conceal whatever criminal act perpetrated by Masons might come to their knowledge, hoped to protect themselves.

702. *Human Leopards.*—A black secret society in the country near Sierra Leone, who indulge in cannibalism, buying young boys, feeding them up, and then killing, baking, and eating them. They also attack travellers, and, if possible, kill them for the same purpose. Three members of the society were hanged in the Imperi country, a British colony, on the 5th August 1895, for this crime. Dressed in leopard skins, they used to secrete themselves in the bush near a village and kill a passer-by, to be eaten at a cannibal feast. One of those three men had been a Sunday-school teacher at Sierra Leone. His conversion to Christianity had evidently not been very profound. Cannibalism is as prevalent on the east coast of Africa as on the west, but in the former, where the natives eat father and mother and any other relations as soon as they grow old, it has a sort of sacramental meaning, the fundamental idea being that the eater imbibes the properties of the person eaten. At the meeting of the British Association in September 1896, Mr. Scott Elliott read a paper on the Human Leopards.

703. *Hunters, The.*—In 1837, after the first Canadian insurrection, a society under the above title was formed, whose object was to bring about a second insurrection. The United States supported them. MacLeod, one of the insurgents of Upper Canada, came to St. Albans, the centre of the society's operations, and was initiated into all the degrees, which he afterwards promulgated through Upper Canada. There were four degrees—the Hunter,

the Racket, the Beaver, and the Eagle. This last was the title of the chief, corresponding with our rank of colonel; the Beaver was a captain, commanding six Rackets, every Racket consisting of nine men; the company of the Beaver consisted of seventy affiliates or Hunters. Every aspirant had to be introduced by three Hunters to a Beaver, and his admission was preceded by fear-inspiring trials and terrible oaths. Though the society lasted two years only, it distinguished itself by brave actions in the field; many of its members died on the scaffold.

704. *Huséanawer.* — The natives of Virginia gave this name to the initiation they conferred on their own priests, and to the novitiate those not belonging to the priesthood had to pass through. The candidate's body was anointed with fat, and he was led before the assembly of priests, who held in their hands green twigs. Sacred dances and funereal shouts alternated. Five youths led the aspirant through a double file of men armed with canes to the foot of a certain tree, covering his person with their bodies, and receiving in his stead the blows aimed at him. In the meantime the mother prepared a funeral pyre for the simulated sacrifice, and wept her son as dead. Then the tree was cut down, and its boughs lopped off and formed into a crown for the brows of the candidate, who during a protracted retirement, and by means of a powerful narcotic called *visocean*, was thrown into a state of somnambulism. Thence he issued among his tribe again and was looked upon as a new man, possessing higher powers and higher knowledge than the non-initiated.

705. *Indian* (*North American*) *Societies.*—Nearly all the Indian tribes who once roamed over the vast plains of North America had their secret societies and sacred mysteries, but as the different tribes borrowed from one another religious ceremonies and symbols, there was great similarity between them all, though here and there characteristic signs or tokens distinguished the separate tribes. Dancing with all of them was a form of worship from the aborigines of Hispaniola to those of Alaska, as, in fact, it was with all savage nations, whether African, American, or Polynesian. The Red Indian tribes all had their medicine-huts and men, their kivas, council-rooms, or whatever name they gave to what were really their religious houses. Most tribes kept up a sacred fire, which was extinguished once a year, and then relighted. The sacred dogmas and rites of the Indians of the Gulf States bore so close a resemblance to those of the

ancient Jews, that it was long seriously contended by ethnologists and historians that they were the Lost Tribes! The Cherokees, Delawares, and Chippewas kept records on sticks, six inches in length, and tied up in bundles, which were covered with devices and symbols, which were called Kepnewin when in common use, and Keknowin when connected with the mysteries of worship. The most remarkable record was that contained in the Walum-Olum, or red score; it contains the creation myth and the story of the migrations of the tribes, represented in pictorial language. Such pictographs are owned by every tribe. The Ojibwas have produced some very elaborate ones, showing the inside of the medicine-lodge filled with the presence of the Great Spirit, a candidate for admission standing therein, crowned with feathers, and holding in his hand an otter-skin pouch; the tree with the root that supplies the medicine; the goods offered as a fee for admission; an Indian walking in the sky, a drum, raven, crow, and so on. The Iroquois mysteries were elaborate, but are not well known; but it appears they were instituted to console Manabozko for the disappearance of Chibiabos, who afterwards was made ruler of the dead—the parallel in this case to Persephone is as curious as is the similarity of the instrument used in the Kurnai initiation to the Greek ῥόμβος (72). The Iroquois were originally made up of five different tribes, which afterwards were increased to seven, and their national organisation was based, not on affinity, but on an artificial and arbitrary brotherhood, having signs and countersigns resembling those of modern secret societies. The secret associations of the Dakotas were more numerous and more marked than those of the Iroquois, but some of them were mere social societies, while others were simply religious. Miss Alice Fletcher, who has lived among them, and the Rev. J. O. Dorsey, testify to the number of societies among them, but to their secrets they were not admitted. Mr. Frank Cushing was, in 1883, initiated into the secret societies of the Zunis; Dr. Washington Matthews has given us descriptions of the sacred ceremonies of the Navajos, and Captain R. G. Bourke of the snake-dance of the Moquis. Dr. Franz Boos has described the customs of the Alaskans, and shown that there are many societies among them, some of which require that a person should be born into them to be a member. In 1890 the Sioux ghost-dance attracted much attention. But what of all these Indian mysteries which in recent years have been endowed with a factitious interest and importance? They

may have a special attraction for the comparative ethnologist; to the general reader they merely convey the conviction that from China to Peru, and from the Arctic to the Antarctic Pole, man is everywhere ruled by the same instincts, fears, and aspirations, which reveal themselves in the same customs, beliefs, and religious rites.

706. *Invisibles, The.*—We know not how much or how little of truth there is in the accounts, very meagre indeed, of this society, supposed to have existed in Italy in the last century, and to have advocated, in nocturnal assemblies, atheism and suicide.

707. *Jehu, Society of.*—This society was formed in France during the Revolution, to avenge its excesses by still greater violence. It was first established at Lyons. It took its name from that king who was consecrated by Elisha to punish the sins of the house of Ahab, and to slay all the priests of Baal; that is to say, the relations, friends, and agents of the Terrorists. Ignorant people called them the Society of Jesus, though this name scarcely suited them, since they spread terror and bloodshed throughout France. The society disappeared under the Consulate and the Empire, but reappeared in 1814–15 under the new name of "Knights of Maria Theresa," or "of the Sun," and by them Bordeaux was betrayed into the hands of the English, and the assassins of the Mayor of Toulouse at Bordeaux, of General Ramel at Toulouse, and of Marshal Brune at Avignon, were members of this society.

708. *Karpokratians.*—A religious society founded by Karpokrates, who lived in the time of the Emperor Adrian at Alexandria. He taught that the soul must rise above the superstition of popular creeds and the laws of society, by which inferior spirits enchain man, and by contemplation unite with the Monas or highest deity. To his son Epiphanes a temple was erected after his death on the island of Cephalonia. The sect, in spite of its moral worthlessness, continued to exist to the sixth century; the members recognised each other by gently tickling the palm of the hand they shook with the points of their fingers.

709. *Klöbbergöll.*—Associations on the Micronesian Islands, living together in houses apart, and bound to accompany their chiefs on their war expeditions, and perform certain services for them. There are on these islands also female clubs, the members of which attend at festivities given to foreign guests, and render them various services.

710. *Knights, the Order of.*—A satirical order to ridicule

mediæval knighthood, founded curiously enough by Frederick von Goné, a Knight of the Strict Observance, who himself believed in the descent of the Freemasons from the Knights Templars. It was instituted at Wetzlar in 1771. The members assumed knightly names; thus Göthe, who belonged to it, was Götz von Berlichingen. They held the "Four Children of Haimon" to be symbolical, and Göthe wrote a commentary thereon. The Order was divided into four degrees in sarcastic derision of the higher degrees of spurious masonry, called, (1) Transition, (2) Transition's Transition, (3) Transition's Transition to Transition, (4) Transition's Transition to Transition of Transition. The initiated only could fathom the deep meaning of these designations!

711. *Know-Nothings.*—This was an anti-foreign and no-popery party, formed in 1852 in the United States of America, and acting chiefly through secret societies, in order to decide the Presidential election. In 1856 it had almost become extinct, but came to life again in 1888, having re-established secret lodges throughout the country, but being especially strong in New York and California. It then held large meetings for the purpose of renominating for the presidential post Major Hewitt, who maintained that all immigrants ought to live in the States twenty-one years before they could vote. They were, however, defeated, General Harrison being elected.

712. *Ku-Klux-Klan.*—A secret organisation under this name spread with amazing rapidity over the Southern States of the American Union soon after the close of the war. The white people of the South were alarmed, not so much by the threatened confiscation of their property by the Federal Government, as by the nearer and more present dangers to life and property, virtue and honour, arising from the social anarchy around them. The negroes, after the Confederate surrender, were disorderly. Many of them would not settle down to labour on any terms, but roamed about with arms in their hands and hunger in their bellies, whilst the governing power was only thinking of every device of suffrage and reconstruction by which the freedmen might be strengthened, and made, under Northern dictation, the ruling power in the country. Agitators came down among the towns and plantations; and organising a Union league, held midnight meetings with the negroes in the woods, and went about uttering sentiments which were anti-social and destructive. Crimes and outrages increased;

the law was all but powerless, and the new governments in the South, supposing them to have been most willing, were certainly unable to repress disorder. A real terror reigned for a time among the white people; and under these circumstances the Ku-Klux started into existence, and executed the Lynch-law, which alone seems effective in disordered states of society. The members wore a dress made of black calico, and called a "shroud." The stuff was sent round to private houses, with a request that it should be made into a garment; and fair fingers sewed it up, and had it ready for the secret messenger when he returned and gave his preconcerted tap at the door. The women and young girls had faith in the honour of the "Klan," and on its will and ability to protect them. The Ku-Klux, when out on their missions, also wore a high tapering hat, with a black veil over the face. The secret of the membership was kept with remarkable fidelity; and in no instance, it is said, has a member of the Ku-Klux been successfully arraigned and punished, though the Federal Government passed a special Act against the society, and two proclamations were issued under this Act by President Grant as late as October 1871, and the *habeas corpus* Act suspended in nine counties of South Carolina. When the members had a long ride at night, they made requisitions at farmhouses for horses, which were generally returned on a night following without injury. If a company of Federal soldiers, stationed in a small town, talked loudly as to what they would do with the Ku-Klux, the men in shrouds paraded in the evening before the guard-house in numbers so overwhelming as at once reduced the little garrison to silence. The overt acts of the Ku-Klux consisted for the most part in disarming dangerous negroes, inflicting Lynch-law on notorious offenders, and above all, in creating one feeling of terror as a counterpoise to another. The thefts by the negroes were a subject of prevailing complaint in many parts of the South. A band of men in the Ku-Klux costume one night came to the door of Allan Creich, a grocer of Williamson's Creek, seized and dragged him some distance, when they despatched and threw him into the Creek, where his body was found. The assassins then proceeded to the house of Allan's brother, but not finding him at home, they elicited from his little child where he was staying. Hereupon they immediately proceeded to the house named; and having encountered the man they sought, they dealt with him as they had dealt with his brother Allan. It appears that Allan had long been

blamed for buying goods and produce stolen by the negroes, and had often been warned to desist, but without avail. The institution, like all of a similar nature, though the necessity for its existence has ceased to a great extent, yet survives in a more degenerate form, having passed into the hands of utter scoundrels, with no good motive, and with foul passions of revenge or plunder, or lust of dread and mysterious power alone in their hearts. Thus in November 1883 seven members of the society, the ringleaders being men of considerable property, were found guilty at the United States Court, Atalanta, Georgia, of having cruelly beaten and fired on some negroes for having voted in favour of an opposition candidate of the Yarborough party in the Congressional election. They were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

713. *Kurnai Initiation.*—The Kurnai, an Australian tribe, performed rites of initiation into manhood, somewhat similar to those of the O-Kee-Pa (725), as did also all the Tasmanian tribes. But details are not known; the nature of the rites is only inferred from the fact that all young men examined by Europeans were found to be deeply scarified on the shoulders, thighs, and muscles of the breast. The Kurnai mysteries are chiefly referred to here because of the curious parallel they offer in the use of an instrument resembling the ῥόμβος, which was one of the sacred objects in the Eleusinian mysteries (72). The Kurnai call the instrument the *turndūn;* it is a flat piece of wood, fastened by one end to a thong, for whirling it round, and producing a roaring noise, to warn off the women. For a woman to see it, or a man to show it her, was, by native law, death to both. It is not unknown in England; we call it a whizzer or bull-roarer. A similar instrument is used by the Kafirs of South Africa, where it is used for just its two principal Australian purposes, namely, for rain-making, and in connection with the rites of initiation to warn the women off. The bull-roarer was also in use in New Zealand. In Australia it is known by the names of wĭtarna and muyumkar.

714. *Liberty, Knights of.*—A sect formed in 1820 in France against the government of the Bourbons. Its independent existence was brief, as it was soon merged in that of the Carbonari.

715. *Lion, Knights of the.*—This was one of the transformations assumed in Germany in the last century by Masonic Templars.

716. *Lion, The Sleeping.*—This was a society formed in

Paris in 1816, with the object of restoring Napoleon to the throne of France. The existing government suppressed it.

717. *Ludlam's Cave.*—A comic society, formed at Vienna in 1818, and so named after a somewhat unsuccessful play of Oehlenschläger. The members were called bodies; candidates, shadows. The latter underwent a farcical examination, and if found very ignorant, were accepted. Many literary men belonged to it; but though their professed object was only amusement, the society was in 1826 suppressed by the police of Vienna.

718. *Mad Councillors.*—This comical order was founded in 1809 by a Doctor Ehrmann of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Diplomas, conceived in a ludicrous style, written in Latin, and bearing a large seal, were granted to the members. Jean Paul, Arndt, Goethe, Iffland, had such diplomas; ladies also received them. On the granting of the hundredth, in 1820, the joke was dropped.

719. *Magi, Order of the.*—Is supposed to have existed in Italy in the last century, as a modification of the Rosicrucians. Its members are said to have worn the costume of Inquisitors.

720. *Mahárájas.*—This is an Indian sect of priests. It appears abundantly from the works of recognised authority written by Mahárájas, and from existing popular belief in the Vallabhacharya sect, that Vallabhacharya is believed to have been an incarnation of the god Krishna, and that the Mahárájas, as descendants of Vallabhacharya, have claimed and received from their followers the like character of incarnations of that god by hereditary succession. The ceremonies of the worship paid to Krishna through these priests are all of the most licentious character. The love and subserviency due to a Supreme Being are here materialised and transferred to those who claim to be the living incarnations of the god. Hence the priests exercise an unlimited influence over their female votaries, who consider it a great honour to acquire the temporary regard of the voluptuous Mahárájas, the belief in whose pretensions is allowed to interfere, almost vitally, with the domestic relations of husband and wife. The Mahárája libel case, tried in 1862 in the Supreme Court of Bombay, proved that the wealthiest and largest of the Hindoo mercantile communities of Central and Western India worshipped as a god a depraved priest, compared with whom an ancient satyr was an angel. Indeed, on becoming followers of that god, they make to his priest the offering of *tan*, *man*, and *dhan*, or body, mind, and property; and so far

does their folly extend, that they will greedily drink the water in which he has bathed. There are about seventy or eighty of the Mahárájas in different parts of India. They have a mark on the forehead, consisting of two red perpendicular lines, meeting in a semicircle at the root of the nose, and having a round spot of red between them. Though not a secret society, strictly speaking, still, as their doings were to some extent kept secret, and their worst features, though proved by legal evidence, denied by the persons implicated, I have thought it right to give it a place here.

721. *Mano Negra.*—This association, the Black Hand, in the south of Spain, is agrarian and Socialistic, and its origin dates back to the year 1835. It was formed in consequence of the agricultural labourers having been deprived of their communal rights, the lands on which they had formerly had the privilege to cut timber and pasture their cattle having been sold, in most instances, far below their value, to the sharp village lawyers, nicknamed caciques, who resemble in their practices the gombeen men of Cork, though these latter do not possess the political influence of the former. The caciques, though they bought the land, in many instances had not capital enough to cultivate it, hence the agricultural labourer was left to starve, a condition which led to many agrarian disturbances. The members of the society were bound by oath to punish their oppressors by steel, fire, or poison; incendiarism was rife. The association was strictly secret; to reveal its doings by treachery or imprudence meant death to the offender. The society had a complete organisation, with its chiefs, its centres, its funds, its secret tribunals, inflicting death and other penalties on their own members, and on landlords and usurers, such as the caciques. The members, to escape detection, often changed their names; they corresponded by cipher, and had a code of precautions, in which every contingency was provided against. From 1880 to 1883 the society was particularly active, especially in Andalusia, which induced the Spanish Government to take the most severe repressive measures against it. Many trials of members took place in 1883. The rising was a purely Spanish one; it was absolute hunger which drove the Spanish peasant into the hands of native agitators. Foreign anarchists endeavoured to utilise the movement, but had little influence on it.

722. *Melanesian Societies.*—The groups of islands stretching in a semicircle from off the eastern coast of Australia to New Caledonia, including New Guinea, the Solomon

Islands, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and also the Fiji Islands, all abound with secret societies, which, however, have nothing formidable in them, since all their secrets are known; the people join, but laugh at them; their lodges are their clubs, chiefly devoted to feasting; strangers are admitted to them as to inns; they exclude women, though on the Fiji Islands there are societies which admit them. Young men are expected to be initiated; those who are not, do not take a position of full social equality with those who are members. When the ceremonies and doctrines were as yet mysteries, outsiders thought that the initiated entered into association with the ghosts of the dead, a delusion strengthened by the strange and unearthly noises heard at times in and around the lodges, and the hideously-disguised figures, supposed to be ghosts, which appeared to the "dogs outside." Now it is known that the ghosts are merely members, wearing strangely-decorated hats made of bark and painted, which hats cover the whole head and rest on the shoulders, while the mummers are dressed in long cloaks, made of leaves, and shaped in fantastic designs. It is also known that the noises which used to frighten the natives are produced by a flat smooth stone, on which the butt-end of a fan of palm is rubbed, the vibration of which produces the extraordinary sound. At the ceremony of initiation the usual pretence of imparting secret knowledge is gone through on a par with that imparted in some societies nearer home, and, as with the latter, it is all a question of fees, though in some societies there is also some rougher ceremony to be submitted to; thus in that called *welu*, the neophyte has to lie down on his face in a hole in the ground, cut exactly to his shape, and lighted cocoanut fronds are cast upon his back. He cannot move, and dare not cry; the scars remain on his back as marks of membership. The neophyte, when initiated, remains *goto*, that is, secluded for a number of days—in some societies for one hundred days—during which time he has to attend to the oven and do the dirty work of the lodge. Learning the dances, which the initiated on certain festivals perform in public, as particularly pleasing to their gods, seems to be the principal item of the instruction received in the sanctuary. The number of societies, as already stated, is very large, and they are known by various names. The New Britain Society is called Duk-Duk (693); that of Florida, Matambala; that of the Banks Islands, Tamate; that of the Northern New Hebrides, Qatu; that of Fiji, Nanga. The ghosts supposed to be present are called duka;

in Florida the consultation of the ghosts is known as paluduka. The lodge is called Salagoro; it is usually situate in some retreat near the village, in the midst of lofty trees, and must not be approached by women; masked figures guard the path to it, which is marked by bright orange-coloured fruits stuck on reeds, and the customary soloi taboo marks, forbidding entrance. The members of different societies are distinguished by particular badges, consisting of leaves or flowers, and to wear such a badge without membership is a punishable offence.

723. *Mumbo-Jumbo.*—We have seen (687) that there is a Californian society, whose object it is to keep their women in due subjection. Among the Mundingoes, a tribe above the sources of the river Gambia, a somewhat similar association exists. Whenever the men have any dispute with the women, an image, eight or nine feet high, made of the bark of trees, dressed in a long coat, crowned with a wisp of straw, and called a Mumbo-Jumbo, or Mamma Jambah, is sent for. A member of the society conceals himself under the coat and acts as judge. Of course his decisions are almost always in favour of the men. When the women hear him coming they run away and hide themselves, but he sends for them, makes them sit down, and afterwards either sing or dance, as he pleases. Those who refuse to come are brought by force, and he whips them. Whoso is admitted into the society has to swear in the most solemn manner never to divulge the secret to any woman, nor to any one not initiated. To preserve the secret inviolable, no boys under sixteen years of age are admitted. About 1727 the King of Jagra, having a very inquisitive wife, disclosed to her the secret of his membership, and the secrets connected therewith. She, being a gossip, talked about it; the result was, that she and the king were killed by the members of the association.

Obeah, see *Egbo Society*.

724. *Odd Fellows.*—This Order was founded in England about the middle of the last century. The initiatory rites then were of the usual terrifying character we have seen practised in the ancient mysteries, accompanied by all the theatrical display intended to overawe the candidate, who had to take the oath of secrecy. The Order has its signs, grips, words, and passwords; one word was *Fides*, which was uttered letter by letter; one sign was made by placing the right hand on the left breast, and at the same time pronouncing the words, "Upon my honour." Another sign was made by taking hold of the lower part of the left ear

with the thumb and forefinger of the right hand. What the signs, grips, and passwords now are, it is impossible to tell, since these, as the only secrets of the Order, are kept strictly secret. Every half-year a new password is communicated to the lodges. In 1819 the Order was introduced into the United States. There are three degrees: the White, Blue, and Scarlet; there is also a female degree, called Rebecca, and High Degrees are conferred in "Camps." The Odd Fellows in the lodges wear white aprons, edged with the colours of their degree; in the camps they wear black aprons similarly trimmed. Since the American prosecutions of the Freemasons, which also affected the Odd Fellows, the oath of secrecy is no longer demanded (see 741).

725. *O-Kee-Pa.*—A religious rite, commemorative of the Flood, which was practised by the Mandans, a now extinct tribe of Red Indians. The celebration was annual, and its object threefold, viz.: (1) to keep in remembrance the subsiding of the waters; (2) to dance the bull-dance, to insure a plentiful supply of buffaloes (though the reader will see in it an allusion to the bull of the zodiac, the vernal equinox); and (3) to test the courage and power of endurance of the young men who, during the past year, had arrived at the age of manhood, by great bodily privations and tortures. Part of the latter were inflicted in the secrecy of the "Medicine-hut," outside of which stood the Big Canoe, or Mandan Ark, which only the "Mystery-Men" were allowed to touch or look into. The tortures, as witnessed by Catlin, consisted in forcing sticks of wood under the dorsal or pectoral muscles of the victim, and then suspending him by these sticks from the top of the hut, and turning him round until he fainted, when he was taken down and allowed to recover consciousness; whereupon he was driven forth among the multitude assembled without, who chased him round the village, treading on the cords attached to the bits of wood sticking in his flesh, until these latter fell out by tearing the flesh to pieces. Like the ancient mysteries, the O-Kee-Pa ended with drunken and vicious orgies. The Sioux at Rosebud Agency, in Dakota, still practise the same barbarous rites, but in a milder form.

726. *Pantheists.*—An association, existing in the last century in this country and in Germany; Bolingbroke, Hume, and other celebrities belonged to it. Its object was the discussion of the maxims contained in Toland's "Pantheisticon." John Toland was born in Ireland about 1670, and was a Deistical writer, who anticipated, two centuries ago, the "higher criticism" of the present day in his "Christianity

not Mysterious." His writings attracted much attention here and in Germany, which country he repeatedly visited. As his teaching was considered atheistical, its followers had to study it secretly. The members of the association met at the periods of the solstices and of the equinoxes, and the profane, and even the servants, were rigorously excluded from the meetings.

727. *Patriotic Order Sons of America.*—This Order was organised in Philadelphia in 1847. It suspended operations during the Civil War, but at its conclusion it was reorganised, and now counts over 200,000 members. The aims and objects of the Order are the teaching of American principles; born Americans only are admitted. Its lodges are called camps. It is a benefit society, and, like all similar associations, has no secrets, but simply endeavours, by certain symbols and signs of recognition, to impress on their members their principles and brotherhood.

Pednosophers, see *Tobaccological Society.*

728. *Phi-Beta-Kappa.*—The Bavarian Illuminati, according to some accounts, spread to America. Students of universities only are admitted to the Order. The password is *Φιλοσοφια Βιου κυβερνητης*, philosophy is the guide or rule of life. The three letters forming the initials of the Greek sentence were chosen as the name of the society, whose object is to make philosophy, and not religion, the guiding principle of man's actions. The Order was introduced into the United States about the year 1776. It had its secret signs and grips, which, however, were all made public, when about the year 1830 the society ceased from being a secret one: the sign was given by placing the two forefingers of the right hand so as to cover the left corner of the mouth, and then drawing it across the chin. The grip was like the common shaking of hands, only not interlocking the thumbs, and at the same time gently pressing the wrists. The jewel or medal, always of silver or gold, and provided at the candidate's expense, is suspended by a pink or blue ribbon. On it are the letters Ph, B, and K, six stars, and a hand. The stars denote the number of colleges where the institution exists. On the reverse is S. P. for Societas Philosophiæ, and the date December 5, 1776, which indicates the time of the introduction of the Order into the States.

729. *Pilgrims.*—A society whose existence was discovered at Lyons in 1825, through the arrest of one of the brethren, a Prussian shoemaker, on whom was found the printed catechism of the society. Though the Pilgrims aimed above all

at religious reform, yet their catechism was modelled on that of the Freemasons.

730. *Police, Secret.*—Whilst revolutionaries and disaffected subjects formed secret associations for the overthrow of their rulers, the latter had recourse to counter-associations, or the Secret Police. In France it was very active in the early part of the last century, but chiefly as the pander to the debaucheries of the Court. For political purposes women of loose morals were employed by preference. Thus a famous procuress, whose boudoirs were haunted by diplomatists, a Madam Fillon, discovered and frustrated the conspiracy of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador in 1718 at the court of the Regent (Philippe d'Orléans, who governed France during the minority of Louis XV.), which was directed against the reigning family, in favour of the Duke of Maine. The ambassador was obliged to leave France. From the *chronique scandaleuse* of those times it is evident that the police were always closely connected with the ladies of easy virtue, whom they employed as their agents. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the police were secretly employed in preventing the propagation of philosophical works, called bad books. The Revolution abolished this secret police as immoral and illegal; but it was, as a political engine, re-established under the Directory, to which the expelled royal family opposed a counter-police, which, however, was discovered in the month of May 1800. Napoleon, to protect himself against the various conspiracies hatched against him, relied greatly on the secret police he had established; but there is no doubt that the mad proceedings of Savary, Duke of Rovigo, Napoleon's last chief of police, hastened the downfall of the Empire. Under Louis Philippe again the secret police had plenty of work to do, in consequence of the many secret societies, whose machinations we have already described (597).

In Prussia also the secret police was very active from 1848 to the Franco-Prussian war, during which its chief duty was to protect the King of Prussia, his allied princes, and Bismarck against the attempts at assassination which were then so rife. How the secret police had plenty of occupation in Russia, where it was known as the "Third Division," we have seen in the account of the Nihilists. In this country a secret police has never been tolerated; it is opposed to the sentiment of the people, who always connect it with *agents provocateurs.*

We have seen (693) that a kind of secret police exists in New Pomerania and Western Africa.

731. *Portuguese Societies.*—During the early part of this century various secret societies with political objects were formed in Portugal, but as they never attained to any importance or permanence, it will be sufficient to mention the names of three of them: the Septembrists, Chartists, and Miguellists, the latter founded in favour of Don Miguel, who for a time occupied the throne of Portugal.

732. *Purrah, The.*—Between the river of Sierra Leone and Cape Monte, there exist five nations of Foulahs-Sousous, who form among themselves a kind of federative republic. Each colony has its particular magistrates and local government; but they are subject to an institution which they call *Purrah.* It is an association of warriors, which from its effects is very similar to the secret tribunal formerly existing in Germany, and known by the name of the Holy Vehm (206); and on account of its rites and mysteries closely resembles the ancient initiations. Each of the five colonies has its own peculiar Purrah, consisting of twenty-five members; and from each of these particular tribunals are taken five persons, who form the Grand Purrah or supreme tribunal.

To be admitted to a district Purrah the candidate must be at least thirty years of age; to be a member of the Grand Purrah, he must be fifty years old. All his relations belonging to the Purrah become security for the candidate's conduct, and bind themselves by oath to sacrifice him, if he flinch during the ceremony, or if, after having been admitted, he betray the mysteries and tenets of the association.

In each district comprised in the institution of the Purrah there is a sacred wood whither the candidate is conducted, and where he is confined for several months in a solitary and contracted habitation, and neither speaks nor quits the dwelling assigned to him. If he attempt to penetrate into the forest which surrounds him, he is instantly slain. After several months' preparation the candidate is admitted to the trial, the last proofs of which are said to be terrible. All the elements are employed to ascertain his resolution and courage; lions and leopards, in some degree chained, are made use of; during the time of the proof the sacred woods resound with dreadful howlings; conflagrations appear in the night, seeming to indicate general destruction; while at other times fire is seen to pervade these mysterious woods in all directions. Every one whose curiosity excites him to profane these sacred parts is sacrificed without mercy.

When the candidate has undergone all the degrees of probation, he is permitted to be initiated, an oath being previously exacted from him that he will keep all the secrets, and execute without demur all the decrees of the Purrah of his tribe, or of the Grand and Sovereign Purrah.

Any member turning traitor or rebel is devoted to death, and sometimes assassinated in the midst of his family. At a moment when a guilty person least expects it, a warrior appears before him, masked and armed, who says: "The Sovereign Purrah decrees thy death." On these words every person present shrinks back, no one makes the least resistance, and the victim is killed. The common Purrah of a tribe takes cognisance of the crimes committed within its jurisdiction, tries the criminals, and executes their sentences; and also appeases the quarrels that arise among powerful families.

It is only on extraordinary occasions that the Grand Purrah assembles for the trial of those who betray the mysteries and secrets of the Order, or rebel against its dictates; and it is this assembly which generally puts an end to the wars that sometimes break out between two or more tribes. From the moment when the Grand Purrah has assembled for the purpose of terminating a war, till it has decided on the subject, every warrior of the belligerent parties is forbidden to shed a drop of blood under pain of death. The deliberations of the Purrah generally last a month, after which the guilty tribe is condemned to be pillaged during four days. The warriors who execute the sentence are taken from the neutral cantons; and they disguise themselves with frightful masks, are armed with poniards, and carry lighted torches. They arrive at the doomed villages before break of day, kill all the inhabitants that cannot make their escape, and carry off whatever property of value they can find. The plunder is divided into two parts; one part being allotted to the tribe against which the aggression has been committed, whilst the other part goes to the Grand Purrah, which distributes it among the warriors who executed the sentence.

When the family of the tribes under the command of the Purrah becomes too powerful and excites alarm, the Grand Purrah assembles to deliberate on the subject, and almost always condemns it to sudden and unexpected pillage; which is executed by night, and always by warriors masked and disguised.

The terror and alarm which this confederation excites

amongst the inhabitants of the countries where it is established, and even in the neighbouring territories, are very great. The negroes of the bay of Sierra Leone never speak of it without reserve and apprehension; for they believe that all the members of the confederation are sorcerers, and that they have communication with the devil. The Purrah has an interest in propagating these prejudices, by means of which it exercises an authority that no person dares to dispute. The number of members is supposed to be about 6000, and they recognise each other by certain words and signs.

733. *Pythias, Knights of.*—This Order was instituted shortly after the American Civil War in 1864 at Washington, whence it soon spread through the United States. Its professed object was the inculcation of lessons of friendship, based on the ancient story of Damon and Pythias. It calls itself a secret organisation, but in reality is only an ordinary benefit society, though it may have a secret object, since it has within itself a "uniform rank," which in its character is essentially military. The drill has been so revised as to bring it into perfect harmony with the tactics of the United States army; the judges at the competitive drills of the order are officers of the United States army. This "uniform rank" counts upwards of 30,000 members.

734. *Rebeccaites.*—A society formed in Wales about 1843, for the abolition of toll-bars. Like the Irish White-Boys the members dressed in white, and went about at night pulling down the toll-gates. Government suppressed them. The supposed chief of the society was called Rebecca, a name derived from the rather clever application of the passage in Genesis xxiv. 60, "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her . . . Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate thee."

735. *Redemption, Order of.*—A secret and chivalrous society, which in its organisation copied the order of the Knights of Malta. Its scope is scarcely known, and it never went beyond the walls of Marseilles, where it was founded by a Sicilian exile.

736. *Red Men.*—In 1812, during the war between England and the United States, some patriotic Americans founded a society with the above title. They took its symbolism from Indian life: the lodges were called tribes; the meeting-places, wigwams; the meetings, council fires, and so on. On festive occasions the members appeared in Indian costume. A great many Germans, settled in America, joined

the society, but being looked down upon by the thoroughbred Yankees, the Germans seceded and founded an order of their own, and called it the "Independent Order of Red Men." In both societies there are three degrees—the English has its Hunters, Soldiers, and Captains; the German is divided into the Blacks, Blues, and Greens. There are higher degrees conferred in "camps." The two societies count about forty thousand members. After the cessation of the war with England (1814) the societies lost their political character, and became mere benefit societies, which they now are.

737. *Regeneration, Society of Universal.*—It was composed of the patriots of various countries who had taken refuge in Switzerland between 1815 and 1820. But though their aims were very comprehensive, they ended in talk, of which professed patriots always have a liberal supply on hand.

738. *Saltpetrers.*—The county of Hauenstein, in the Duchy of Baden, forms a triangle, the base of which is the Rhine from Säckingen to Waldshut. In the last century the abbot of the rich monastery of St. Blasius, which may be said to form the apex of the triangle, exacted bond-service against the Hauensteiners. This they resented; a secret league was the result. From its leader, Fridolin Albiez, a dealer in saltpetre, it took the name of Saltpetrers. The abbot, supported by Austria in 1755, finally compelled them to submit, though the sect was revived at the beginning of this century to oppose reformatory tendencies in church and school. Mutual concessions in 1840 put an end to the strife and to the society. In Tirol the Manharters, so called after their leader, Manhart, had the same object in view—resistance to Reformation principles—and were successful in attaining them, they being warmly supported by the Pope.

739. *Sikh Fanatics.*—The Sikhs—Sikh means a disciple, or devoted follower—first came into notice in 1510 as a religious sect. Their prophet was Nanuk. Two centuries afterwards Guru Govindu developed a more military spirit; he added the sword to their holy book, the "Granth." From 1798 to 1839 the Sikhs were at the zenith of their power. Their distinguishing marks were a blue dress, because Bala Ram, the brother of Krishna, is always represented as wearing a blue dress, with long hair and beard; every man had to carry steel on his person in some form. The ordinary Sikh now dresses in pure white. All the sect were bound in a holy brotherhood called the Khalsa (meaning the saved or liberated), wherein all social distinctions were abolished.

The fierce fanatical Akalis were soldier-priests, a sombre brotherhood of military devotees, chiefly employed about their great temple at Amritsar (meaning the fountain of immortality). They initiate converts, which is done by ordering the neophyte to wear blue clothes, by being presented with five weapons—a sword, a firelock, a bow and arrow, and a pike. He is further enjoined to abstain from intercourse with certain schismatic sects, and to practise certain virtues. As, according to tradition, Govindu, when at the point of death, exclaimed, "Wherever five Sikhs are assembled, there I shall be present," five Sikhs are necessary to perform the rite of initiation. The Sikhs may eat flesh, except that of the cow, which is a sacred animal to them as well as to the Hindus.

The phase of Sikh fanaticism which revealed its existence in 1872 by the Kooka murders may be traced to the following sources:—The movement was started a good many years since by one Ram Singh, a Sikh, whose headquarters were fixed at the village of Bainee, in the Loodhiana district. His teaching is said to have aimed at reforming the ritual rather than the creed of his countrymen. His followers, moreover, seem to have borrowed a hint or two from the dancing dervishes of Islam. At their meetings they worked themselves into a sort of religious frenzy, which relieved itself by unearthly howlings; and hence they were generally known as the "Shouters." Men and women of the new sect joined together in a sort of wild war-dance, yelling out certain forms of words, and stripping off all their clothing, as they whirled more and more rapidly round. Ram Singh himself had served in the old Sikh army, and one of his first moves was to get a number of his emissaries enlisted into the army of the Maharajah of Cashmere. That ruler, it is said, would have taken a whole regiment of Kookas into his pay; but for some reason or another this scheme fell to the ground. Possibly he took fright at the political influence which his new recruits might come in time to wield against him or his English allies. Ram Singh's followers, however, multiplied apace; and out of their number he chose his lieutenants, whose preaching in time swelled the total of converts to something like 100,000. Of these *soubahs*, or lieutenants, some twenty were distributed about the Punjab. The great bulk of their converts consisted of artisans and people of yet lower caste, who, having nothing to lose, indulged in wild dreams of future gain. Their leader's power over them appears to have been very great. They obeyed his orders as

cheerfully as the Assassins of yore obeyed the Old Man of the Mountain. If he had a message to send to one of his lieutenants, however far away, a letter was entrusted to one of his disciples, who ran full speed to the next station, and handed it to another, who forthwith left his own work, and hastened in like manner to deliver the letter to a third. In order to clinch his power over his followers, Ram Singh contrived to interpolate his own name in a passage of the "Granth"—the Sikh Bible—which foretells the advent of another *Guru*, prophet or teacher. But, whatever the teachings of this new religious leader, there is reason to think that his ultimate aim was to restore the Sikhs to their old supremacy in the Punjab by means of a religious revival; and he stirred up the religious fervour of his followers by impressing on them that their war was a war against the slayer of the sacred cow, which to their European conquerors of course is not sacred, and has ceased to be so to many natives of India. But the insurrection was quickly suppressed. The whole band, which never numbered three hundred, was literally hunted down, and the ringleaders blown from guns. This may appear severe punishment; but it is to be borne in mind that though the number of insurgents who were taken with arms in their hands was only small, they had behind them a body of nearly 100,000 followers, bound together by one common fanaticism, who had to be taught by very prompt and severe action that our power in India is not to be assailed with impunity.

The Sikhs are divided into numerous sects, the most important being the Govind Sinhi community, comprehending the political association of the Sikh nation generally. The Sikh sect, as a religious and secret one, is rapidly diminishing.

740. *Silver Circle, Knights of the.*—A secret organisation formed in the Rocky Mountains in 1893 against the suspension of silver coinage. The Knights threatened, in case the Sherman Law should be repealed, to compel Colorado to leave the American Union and unite with the republic of Mexico, which is a silver coinage country. The western states were at that time honeycombed with secret societies deliberating the question of secession. Many of these societies were armed organisations, and were, it is said, in the habit of holding moonlight meetings for purposes of drill. The members had secret signs and passwords to recognise one another in public. But the repeal of the Sherman Act in August 1893 crushed their hopes, and caused the collapse of the society.

741. *Sonderbare Gesellen.*—German societies, formed on the model of the English Odd Fellows, whose name they took, and of which the above is a literal translation. They now call themselves Freie Gesellen (Free Brethren), or Helfende Brüder (Helping Brethren). But, unlike their English prototypes, who have no other secrets than their signs, grips, and passwords, the German Gesellen are closely connected with Freemasonry, which, as we have seen, is not so colourless abroad as it is here, and they proclaim themselves an institution for the deliverance of nations from priests, superstition, and fanaticism. The Order was introduced into Germany in 1870, and gradually into Switzerland, France, Holland, Mexico, Peru, Chili, Sweden, Spain, and even some Polynesian islands, so that now it counts upwards of fifty grand lodges and nearly eight thousand lodges, exclusive of English ones (724).

742. *Sophisiens.*—"The Sacred Order of the Sophisiens," or Followers of Wisdom, was founded by some French generals engaged in the expedition to Egypt (1798–99), and was to a certain extent secret. But some of its pursuits oozed out, and were to be found in a book, partly in MS. and partly printed, the title of which is "Mélanges relatifs à l'ordre sacré des Sophisiens, établi dans les Pyramides de la Republique française," in 4to. (See No. 494 in the catalogue of Lerouge.) Where is the book now?

743. *Star of Bethlehem.*—This Order claims a very ancient origin, having, it is alleged, been founded during the first century of the Christian era. In the thirteenth century it was an order of monks called Bethlehemites, closely identified with the Church of the Nativity built by the Empress Helena in the year 330, in the centre of which is the grotto of the Nativity, where a star is inlaid in the marble floor in commemoration of the star which shone over Bethlehem. The Order was introduced into England in 1257, and soon became a benevolent order, and members were called Knights of the Star of Bethlehem. Women were admitted to membership in 1408. In 1681 it was introduced into America by Giles Cory, of ye City of London, but fanaticism soon drove it out of that continent, for in September 1694 the grand commander was cruelly put to death "for holding meetings in ye dead hours of ye night." It was reintroduced into New York in 1869 by A. Gross of Newcastle-on-Tyne. In 1884 the members dropped the title of Knights, and the original name of Order of the Star of Bethlehem was reassumed.

744. *Thirteen, The.*—To Balzac's fertile imagination we are indebted for the book entitled *Les Treize*, the fictitious story of a society of thirteen persons who during the First Empire bound themselves by fearful oaths, and for objects the author dare no more reveal than the names of the members, mutually to support one another. The work consists of three tales, the first being the most interesting for us, since it pretends to record the stormy career of Ferragus, one of the associates, and chief of the Dévorants spoken of in the French Workmen's Unions (369). A society of thirteen (not secret) has recently been founded in London, in imitation, I assume, of a society formed in 1857 at Bordeaux for the same purpose as the London one, namely, by force of example to extirpate the superstition regarding the number thirteen, of which very few persons know the origin. In the ancient Indian pack of cards, consisting of seventy-eight cards, of which the first twenty-two have special names, the designation of card xiii. is "Death," and hence all the evil influences ascribed to that number!

745. *Tobaccological Society.*—When in 531 Theodora from a ballet girl had become the wife of the Emperor Justinian I., she wished to be surrounded by philosophers, especially the expounders of Pythagoras. But for once the philosophers stood on their dignity, and declined imperial patronage. This led to their persecution, and the closing of their schools and academies; they were not allowed to hold meetings. But Pythagoreans must meet, hence they met in secret, first in a ruined temple of Ceres on the banks of the Ilissus, and afterwards in an octagonal temple, built by one of them, at the foot of Mount Hymettus. They called themselves Pednosophers, which in a philologically incorrect manner they interpreted as meaning "Children of Wisdom." For their symbol they adopted the anemone, which flower was said to have sprung from the blood of Adonis, wounded by a wild boar—so philosophy arose afresh from philosophy persecuted by superstition. At first women and children were admitted, but they were told part only of the secret, whatever it was. The sign was crossing the arms on the breast, so that the index finger touched the lips. The sacred word was theus-theos, "Hope in God." The chief of the Order was known to but a few members by his real name; to the rest he passed under a pseudonym. There were different degrees in the Order, which perpetuated itself until 1672 in various countries, England included. In this year Charles II. prohibited all secret societies, and the Pednosophers

changed their name to Tobaccologers, and adopted the tobacco plant as their emblem, its red flower suggesting to them philosophy persecuted by Justinian and others. At their meetings they discussed chiefly academical subjects; in fact, modern academies owe to them their origin. Many men of note belonged to the Order, which was divided into four degrees—the glamour of secrecy must be kept up to the last! The members in the lodge wore a triangular apron. Towards the end of the last century the Order declined in this country, and its papers, its records, and mysteries eventually fell into the hands of the French Marquis d'Etanduère, who left them to his son, at whose death they were examined by a M. Doussin, to whom he had left them; and this M. Doussin thereupon reconstituted the society at Poitiers in 1806, where it continued till about the year 1848. The tobacco plant, its culture and manufacture, were the subjects of symbolical instructions, and for the real names of the towns where lodges existed, the names of localities famous for fine sorts of tobacco were substituted. Persons known to belong to the society popularly went by the designation of snuff-takers.

746. *Turf, Society of the.*—When the failure of the Carbonaro conspiracy, and especially its non-success in its attempt on Macerata (562), led to the temporary suppression of the Carbanaro society, the youths of Italy, who had hoped to distinguish themselves by fighting and driving the Austrian out of Italy, felt sorely disappointed. The more rational ones submitted to the inevitable, and returned to peaceful occupations. But the more hot-headed and restless members of the society sought outlets for their exuberant spirits in forming associations of various kinds, and sometimes of the most objectionable character. Such a one was the *Compagnia della Teppa*, or Turf Society, which arose at Milan in 1818.[1]

Two derivations of the name of the society are given.

The members of the society wore plush hats, and it was a regulation that this plush was to be cut as short and as

[1] The account which follows is taken chiefly from the *Cento Anni* of Rovani, who relied, in his turn, on the statement of one Milesi, a member of the Turf Society. There is also a report of the police, which finally suppressed the society, but this report is inaccessible to the public. In the Ambrosinian Library at Milan there is a MS. in several volumes, written by Prebendary Mantovani, giving the history of the Teppa, but this information reached the author too late to be utilised here. As, however, Milesi refers to that MS., he probably incorporated in his own account its most important details, so that we may safely conclude that in Rovani's work we have all that is known about the Teppa.

smooth as turf. The other, and more probable, origin of the name is the fact that the members held their meetings at first on the lawns of beautiful turf in the *Piazza Castello* at Milan. Their pursuits may be described as a revival of Mohocking; they bound themselves to beat every man they met in the streets after dark, which practice, however, was chiefly resorted to against men having handsome wives, whom members of the society wished forcibly, or with consent, to disgust with their husbands or abduct from their homes; and a certain amount of ridicule attaching to the infliction of such a beating, the victims in most cases made no public complaint. Of course, in many cases it was the Turfists who got the worst of the encounter. The Austrian police shut its eyes to all these proceedings, of which, through its spies, it was fully cognisant, on the principle that it was better these young men should vent their overflow of spirits, their physical and mental energies, on such follies, and even on criminal exploits, than employ them in political schemes and pursuits, which would be certain to be directed against Austrian rule and rulers. The society might have subsisted longer than it did had it not grown foolhardy by long impunity. What at last compelled the police to interfere was as follows:—

There lived in the Via Pennacchiari a dwarf known by the nickname of Gasgiott, who earned his living by artificial-flower making. He was of a violent and quarrelsome temper, but thought himself a great favourite with the women; none of them, he fancied, could withstand him. One night, as some members of the Teppa happened to be in the Via Pennacchiari, a girl complained to one of them, Milesi (the author of the MS. consulted by Rovani?), a man of athletic proportions, that Gasgiott had grossly insulted her. Milesi bestowed on the dwarf a sound thrashing, and carrying him to an inn, where Baron Bontempo, the chief of the Teppa, was waiting for him, suggested shutting up the dwarf, with scanty food, for some time in the country to "cool his blood," which was done. But one idea suggests another: the capture of one dwarf led to a regular hunt after the species, and in a short time about a dozen of them were shut up in a mansion belonging to Baron Bontempo, called Simonetta, and situate outside the walls of Milan. Then another thought suggested itself to the members of the Teppa.

Among the fine pretences with which they sought to justify their questionable proceedings was the allegation

that it was their duty to redress wrongs of which the law took no cognisance. Now, they argued, there are every year hundreds of men, young men, just entering life, and married men with families, ruined through the wiles and the extravagance of designing women, whom the law cannot touch for the injuries they have inflicted on their victims. Many women, notorious for such conduct, some of them ladies of position, and connected with aristocratic families, were then living at Milan. It struck the Turfists they would be suitable companions for the imprisoned dwarfs. The idea was carried out. About ten ladies were by treachery or force brought to Simonetta, and there shut up with the dwarfs. The orgy that ensued, says Rovani, could only be described by the pen of an Aretino. But it is easy to understand that a number of ladies, so entrapped, would not quietly submit to such abduction or the advances of the dwarfs. The authors of the mischief were only too glad to release them on the very next day, and the dwarfs also. As all the prisoners had been brought to the mansion by roundabout ways, and in close carriages, and were taken away in the same manner, they had no clue to the position of their prison; but a scheme like this could not be carried out without a good many persons being let into the secret; the ladies who had been carried off cried aloud for vengeance, and many young men, belonging to respectable families, who had joined the society from curiosity, or, as they fancied, to increase their own importance, seeing the dangerous practices in which they had involved themselves, were ready to give information. The police could no longer shut its eyes and pretend ignorance, and so one morning, in the year 1821, more than sixty members of the society were arrested, and, for want of more suitable accommodation, at first imprisoned in the convent of St. Mark, whence some were sent to Szegedin and Komorn, or drafted into the army. Many others were arrested afterwards; some of the members made their escape, having been warned beforehand. Thus the society collapsed, between three and four years after its foundation.

The members recognised one another by the one saluting the other with both hands joined, whereupon the other put his right hand to his side, as if going to place it on the hilt of his sword. There were only two degrees, that of captain and that of simple brother; the former was bound to initiate four new members. General meetings were always held in the same place, special ones in different localities,

which were constantly changed. The society was, moreover, divided into two grand centres, the centre of Nobles and that of Commoners.

747. *Utopia.*—A society founded at Prague in the fifties, and which had such success that in 1885 it reckoned eighty-five lodges in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, and other countries. A council of the league was held at Leipzig in 1876, and another at Prague in 1883. The president of every lodge is called Uhu (screech-owl); at manifestations of joy they cry "Aha!" and at transgressions against the laws of Utopia, "Oho!" The members are divided into three degrees: Squires, Younkers, and Knights; guests are called Pilgrims. The German name of the society is *Allschlaraffia;* Schlaraffenland in German means the "land of milk and honey," the land of Cocagne, where roast-pigeons fly into your mouth when you open it, and roasted pigs run about the streets with knife and fork in their backs. From the name, the character of the society may be inferred.

748. *Wahabees.*—This sect, the members of which attracted considerable attention in 1871, on account of their suspected connection with the murders of Chief-Justice Norman at Calcutta, and of Lord Mayo in 1872, has the following origin: About 1740 a Mohammedan reformer appeared at Nejd, named Abdu'l Waháb, and conquered great part of Arabia from the Turks. He died in 1787, having founded a sect known as the Wahabees. The word Wahab signifies a Bestower of Blessings, and is one of the epithets of God, and Abdul Wahab means the servant of the All Bountiful. The Wahabees took Mecca and Medina, and almost expelled the Turk from the land of the Prophet. But in 1818 the power of these fierce reformers—their doctrine being a kind of Islam Socinianism, allowing no title to adoration to Mohammed—waned in Arabia, to reappear in India under a new leader, one Saiyid Ahmad, who had been a godless trooper in the plundering bands of Amir Khan, the first Nawab of Tonk. But in 1816 he went to Delhi to study law, and his fervid imagination drank in greedily the new subject. He became absorbed in meditation, which degenerated into epileptic trances, in which he saw visions. In three years he left Delhi as a new prophet, and journeying to Patna and Calcutta, was surrounded by admiring crowds, who hung upon his accents, and received with ecstasy the divine lesson to slay the infidel, and drive the armies of the foreigner from India. In 1823 he passed through Bombay to Rohilkhand, and having there raised an army

of the faithful, he crossed the land of the Five Rivers, and settled like a thundercloud on the mountains to the north-east of Peshawur. Since then the rebel camp thus founded has been fed from the head centre at Patna with bands of fanatics, and money raised by taxing the faithful. To account for such success, the reader will have to bear in mind that in Mohammedan countries a doctor of civil law, such as Saiyid Ahmad was, may hold the issues of peace or war in his hands, for with Mohammedans the law and the gospel go together, and the Koran represents both. Akbar, the greatest Mohammedan monarch, was nearly hurled from the height of his power by a decision of the Jaunpur lawyers, declaring that rebellion against him was lawful. And the Wahabee doctrine is, that war must be made on all who are not of their faith, and especially against the British Government, as the great oppressor of the Mohammedan world. Twenty sanguinary campaigns against this rebel host, aided by the surrounding Afghan tribes, have failed to dislodge them; and they remain to encourage any invader of India, any enemy of the English, to whom they would undoubtedly afford immense assistance. Though the general impression in England and India seems to be that the murder of Mr. Norman is not to be attributed to a Wahabee plot, yet so little is known of the constitution, numerical strength, and aims of the secret societies of India, that an overweening confidence in the loyalty of the alien masses—as the *Times* curiously enough terms them—on the part of the English residents in India, is greatly to be condemned, for there still exists an active propaganda of fanatic Wahabees at great Mussulman centres; and though the vast Mussulman community throughout India look on the fanatics with dislike or indifference, yet they need careful looking-after by Government ("Cyclopædia of India," by Surgeon-General Edward Balfour. Three vols. London, 1885).

A few lines higher up we referred to secret societies of India; from among these we may specially mention the Mina robber settlement at Shahjahanpur, which town formed part of the possessions of the Rohilla Patans, whose dominion was overthrown by the British in 1774. The Minas are the descendants of Rohilla chiefs, and the district they occupy being the centre of a small tract of land, entirely surrounded by independent native states, affords them refuge and ready means of escape when pressed by the British police. And they are doubtless fostered and protected by the minor chiefs and head-men of native states, who share

the spoil. They are supposed to form a corporation somewhat similar to the Garduna (306–311). It has been suggested that the Minas, possessing a splendid physique and animal courage, the very qualities needed for such a purpose, should be utilised in frontier and border forces, as the Mazbis, a similar marauding tribe, were utilised and reclaimed.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

VOL. I.

Page 35, *line* 12 from top, *delete* 'may.'

Page 36, *line* 5.—*To* 'the religion of Buddha still survives,' *add* 'in its integrity.' It may be remembered that in February 1895 an ancient and highly-artistic image of Buddha was brought from Ceylon to be set up in the temple of Budh-Gaya, in Bengal, which the Buddhists regard as the most sacred spot on earth. The ceremony of setting up the image led to serious riots between the Buddhists and a crowd of Hindoo devotees who objected to it. The legal proceedings which ensued proved abortive, in consequence of the complicated questions of law involved therein.

A work published at the beginning of this year (1897) by the Clarendon Press, and entitled 'A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695). By I-tsing. Translated by J. Takakusu, B.A., M.D. With a letter from Professor F. Max Müller,' is of great value for the history of Buddhism, on the rise, growth, and development of which this work gives ample and reliable information.

Page 36.—In § 38 it is stated that there is no proof of the real existence of Buddha. The recent discovery by Dr. Führer of the spot where Buddha is reputed to have been born, the Lumbini garden, as also of the stone pillar therein, with the inscription, 'Here the worshipful was born,' is no evidence, as at first sight it might appear, of the actual existence in the flesh of Buddha. Tradition says that he was born in the locality named, and that centuries after his supposed birth a certain king caused a stone pillar to be set up to record the fact. The discovery amounts to an identification of the spot pointed out in the tradition. But this qualification is not intended to detract from the merit of Dr. Führer's discovery, the effect of deep research and ingenious reasoning, the results of which he has given to the world in a very lucid demonstration. The discovery is a very pregnant one.

Page 45. *Addendum to* § 51.—'The temple of Hathor, at Dendera, inferior in size to the temples at Karnak only, surpasses them in beauty. It was in this temple that the zodiac, famous in the annals of Egyptology, was discovered. It is engraved in Denon's "Egypt." From the more modern researches instituted, it would appear that the temple was erected, not, as has been asserted, in the time of the Ptolemies, but rather in the most ancient dynasties. The goddess Hathor cosmically represents the darkness, out of which is born the light, hence the sun daily springs from her. She was the prototype of the Black Virgins of Roman Catholicism.'

Page 53, *line* 13 from bottom, *delete* 'a' before 'hierogrammatical.'

Page 64, *line* 15 from bottom, *for* 'offered' *read* 'offer.'

Page 99, *line* 12 from top, *delete* ')' after 'it.'

Page 113, *line* 14 from top, *for* 'said' *read* 'affirmed.'

Page 142, § 178. *Waldo.*—According to a genealogy compiled by Morris Charles Jones (publication undated), the Waldo family is descended from 'Thomas Waldo of Lions,' one of the first who publicly renounced the doctrines of the Church of Rome. The representative of the English branch of the family came to this country in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Page 152, *line* 3 from top, *for* 'Hostes' *read* 'Nostes.'

Page 168, § 213. *Vehm.—Add:* 'The last-named work on the Vehm in our list of authorities under the heading of "Free Judges" is that of Theodor Lindner. It treats the subject fully, one may say exhaustively, comprising more than 670 large, closely-printed pages. His summing up on the character and working of the institution, which we may accept as final, is that the Vehm, though to some extent a palliative of the lawlessness of the times, was yet liable to great abuses, since great and powerful persons always could have sentences passed on them by one Court annulled by another. Besides, what was the good of passing sentences which could not be executed? From the accounts given by Lindner—accounts based on official documents—it is clear that public order and security were never in a worse plight than during the most flourishing days of the Vehm. Nay, the tribunal offered many a villain the opportunity of plunging honest people into trouble and expense. The Vehm neither purified nor improved legal procedure, but threw it into greater confusion.'

Page 169, § 215. *Beati Paoli.—Add:* 'Gioachimo, or Giovacchino, as his name is sometimes written, was a Calabresian Cistercian monk, and abbot of Curacio, whose fame as a prophet was so great that King Richard I. when passing through Southern Italy wished to converse with him, but came to the conclusion that the prophet was an "idle babbler"; moreover, all the predictions he uttered anent what was to happen in the Holy Land proved wrong. Still, he appears to have been a man of parts; he was deeply versed in theology, and the author of many works. Dante speaks of his prophetic powers in the *Paradiso*, c. xii.

'John of Parma lived in the twelfth century, and his book *Evangelium Æternum* was publicly burnt by order of Pope Alexander IV. in 1258.'

Page 173, *line* 11 from bottom, *for* 'Toulouse' *read* 'Tours.'

Page 175, *line* 21 from top, *for* 'amd' *read* 'and.'

Page 198, § 239. *Add:* 'From the *Humanitarian* for March 1897 I learn that there is actually at the present day an Astrological Society in London, at the annual meeting of which Mr. Alan Leo gave "a very interesting address," in which he said that astrology "was built upon a beautiful symbology, the symbols of which were the same to-day as at the beginning; the circle, which represents the sun; the half-circle, which means the moon; and the cross, representing the earth. A cross over the circle is Mars or War, a cross under the circle, Venus or Love. The Sun, Mars, and Venus represent the Spirit. In the half-circle are all the planets relating to the mind. A cross over the half-circle is Saturn or the Devil; the half-circle over the cross is Jupiter or Jehovah, the Higher Mind. Every person is born under

some influence, and the study of astrology enables people correctly to see the qualities they have in them. The speaker challenged any man to show that astrology is not true ; sooner or later it will become the religion of the world." Surely after this dogmatic and lucid exposition, our public schools and universities will at once add the study of astrology to their curriculum ! Sir Richard Phillips called astrology the mother of the sciences, though herself the daughter of superstition.'

Page 224, *line* 17 from bottom, *for* 'Epologue' *read* 'Apologue,' *and for* 'Apilogue' *read* 'Epilogue.'

Page 230, § 280. *The Rosicrucians.*—At the end of § 280 *add:* 'In the anonymous publication "*Das Ganze aller geheimen Ordensverbindungen*" (Full Account of all Secret Orders), Leipzig, 1805, evidently written by one fully initiated, I find the following note on this Master Pianco : "He had long been a Mason, before he became a Rosicrucian. His chief was a hybrid between man and beast. No honest Christian could cope with him without fear of being flayed alive. If doubts were suggested to him, he uttered blasphemies, of which the most violent miscreant would have been ashamed. Pianco shook off the dust of his chamber, and fled the companionship of such heathens." This sheds a rather curious light on the composition and character of the Rosicrucian fraternity, "whose bear was supposed to dance to none but the most genteelest of tunes."'

Page 231, § 281. *Asiatic Brethren.—Add :* 'As soon as we are indiscreet enough to pry behind the scenes of secret societies the illusion their outward seeming grandeur produces vanishes, and the hollowness of their pretences and shallowness of their charlatanism become apparent. The Order of the "Asiatic Brethren," who, as our text states, took so high-sounding a title, in their private transactions proved but a poor and pitiful lot. Marcus Ben Bind—we have seen that they affected Jewish names—was a member who was most active in developing the Order. He introduced the "cabalistic nonsense" and fanciful inventions which formed its basis, and most of its papers were his property. These the chiefs cajoled out of him, giving him no other compensation than making him Ocker-Harim, or Chief Custodian of the Archives. When he complained, he suffered for it (probably he was imprisoned). But the chiefs, nevertheless, admitted and admired his merits and profound wisdom, as he kept adding cabalistic and Hebrew terms to their ritual. They made use of him, promising him great things ; but when he asked for money, the wire-pullers behind the curtain refused it ; they needed a great deal for themselves ; he was to be satisfied with the crumbs which fell from the rich men's tables. Then he rebelled, and finally resigned, and his revelations were a treat for the outside "cowans."'

Page 258, § 306. *The Garduna.—Add :* 'The Spanish word *garduna* means a marten, and it is with regard to the well-known qualities of that animal that in Spain a clever and expert thief is familiarly known as a *garduno*.'

Page 270, § 321. *The Camorra.—Add :* 'According to the law of the 28th September 1822 of the Bourbon police, "secret or quasi-secret associations are condemned to the third degree in chains ; the chiefs to the gallows, and a fine of from one thousand to four thousand ducats." And again, according to the law of the 24th June 1828, "the meeting of two persons is sufficient to constitute a secret society." And yet the Camorra was not touched.'

Page 274, § 325. *The Camorra.—Add:* 'The recently-published "Stories of Naples and the Camorra," by the late Charles Grant, afford but a faint reflex of the terrible character of the Camorra. Whoso wishes to thoroughly study the subject should read "I Vermi: Studi Storici su le Classe Pericolose in Napoli di Francesco Mastriani" (Napoli, 1877. 5 vols.). And the present writer has been among the Camorristi at Naples, and found in them none of the redeeming features Mr. Grant allows them: they are all unmitigated scoundrels.'

Page 299, *line* 14 from bottom, *for* 'dates' *read* 'date.'

Page 316, § 364. *The German Union.—Add:* 'The inner history of the German Union presents some curious features. Bahrdt, its reputed founder, was in 1777 in London, and there initiated into Freemasonry. He had but a poor opinion of German Freemasonry, and, therefore, on his return to Germany visited none of the lodges. But a high official of the Imperial Chamber at Wetzlar, Von Ditfurth, suggested to him the formation of a society which should carry out the true objects of Freemasonry, viz., the restoration of human rights, and the free use of reason. In 1785, Bahrdt received an anonymous letter, containing the plan of the German Union. The letter was signed, "From some Masons, your great admirers." In the same year he was visited by an Englishman, who urged him to establish a lodge, promising to connect it with English Masonry. Bahrdt showed him the scheme of the Union, which the Englishman highly approved of. Bahrdt founded a lodge, consisting of five or six of his friends and sixteen young men. But the lodge was denounced as a financial speculation. Bahrdt grew uneasy, especially when, in 1787, he received another anonymous communication from the same source as the first, announcing the formation of a German Union, which he was invited to join. The letter contained printed details and forms of oaths, which were afterwards published in the book "More Notes than Text." Bahrdt eagerly embraced the offer, and exerted himself to extend the German Union. He became acquainted with a Dr. Pott, who had the reputation of being a wag, making a fool of everybody, and perhaps in consequence of this new acquaintance he, in 1788, lost a thousand dollars through the Union to which he devoted all his time. In the summer of the same year he received from Berlin—as Bahrdt alleges—the MS. of the satire on the "Edict of Religion," which he got printed at Vienna. This, as well as the publication of "More Notes than Text," and the treachery of Röper, led, as mentioned in the account of the German Union, to his final ruin.'

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Page 60, § 439. *African Architects.—Add:* 'A few additional details on the "African Architects" may not prove uninteresting. The Order was divided into two sections, the first of which comprised five degrees: (1) The Apprentice of Egyptian secrets, called *Menes Musæ;* (2) the Initiate into Ægean secrets; (3) the Cosmopolitan; (4) the Christian Philosopher; (5) the *Aletophile*, or Lover of Truth. The second or inner section of the Order comprised: (1) *Armiger*, who was told what Fos Braeder Law and the word Gälde signified; (2) *Miles*, who was informed that the letters G and L did not mean geometry and logic, but were the initials of the founder of the Order; (3) *Eques*, or knights, who

were invested with a ring they wore on the finger of the right hand, or on the watch. The ring was formed of gold love-knots, and the letters R.S. Usually the members called themselves *Ædiles* or Architects, because architecture was the science they most pursued. Their mathematics consisted in producing clever variations of the triangle, square, and number X. At their meetings they spoke Latin; all their books were bound in red morocco, with gilt edges. Their chief archives were at a place in Switzerland, which was never to be revealed, and which, among its treasures, comprised the papers of the Grand Master, George Evelyn of Wotton, in Surrey, the seat of which John Evelyn has left us an account. The hall of initiation was either occupied by a choice library, or its walls beautifully painted. "I found," wrote one of the members, "such a hall at N., built over a barn, and which you would never have taken for a lodge. The hall had many windows, and was adorned with statues. There was a dark chamber, a banqueting-hall, a bedroom for travellers, and a well-appointed kitchen. Over the door of the hall stood a horse, which, when you pressed a spring, with a kick of its foot caused a fountain in the adjoining garden to play." I was told that this lodge was built by order of Frederick II. The introducer of candidates wore a dress of blue satin; the Master sat at a table, on which were placed globes and mathematical instruments. Candidates were to be men of science or artists, who had to submit proofs of their skill. Their rules of procedure in general were formulated on those of the Académie Française.'

Page 134, § 514.—*Tae-ping-wang. Add:* 'Tae-ping-wang called himself the King of Peace, and proclaimed himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ, appointed to establish a universal kingdom and communion of the faithful. We cannot assume this Chinese leader to have had any knowledge of the dreams of European Rosicrucians, and yet these latter in the *Thesaurinella Chymica-aurea* (244) predicted the advent of a mysterious personage they called Elias Artista, who was to establish the rule of Christ in a new world. Tae-ping-wang thus appears, curiously enough, as a Chinese Artista.'

Page 139, § 519. *Europe after the Congress of Vienna.—Add:* 'The opinions as to the consequences of the downfall of Napoleon, expressed in this paragraph, will probably excite hostile criticism, as they did when on a former occasion I expressed myself to the same effect. This is not the place to discuss the question; but if the record, in these pages, of the secret societies which arose after the Congress of Vienna be not sufficient to satisfy the critic and the reader of the correctness of my views, and I be challenged to the discussion, I will not decline it.'

Page 160, § 545. *The Carbonari.—Add:* 'The Code of Carbonarism is found most fully in "The Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari" (London, 1821). This work, translated from the original French MS., was the production of Baron Bertholdy, a converted Jew, who, however, retained the habits and manners of his race. He was about the above date, and probably till about 1825, the Russian Ambassador to the Papal Court. Of a restless and inquisitive disposition, he delighted in political intrigue, and was mixed up with all tumults and popular agitations. He was said to know everything, and be ubiquitous; his sinister physiognomy and inquisitorial prying gained him among the Neapolitans the sobriquet of the "Wandering Jew."'

Page 207, § 601. *Polish Patriotism.—Add:* 'The opinions here expressed may, like those of § 519 (*see* note thereon), challenge contradiction, but as they are based on facts, they can be substantiated. Here I content myself with referring to M. C. Courrière, an admirer of the Poles, who in his "History of Contemporaneous Literature among the Sclavonians" (Paris, 1879), confesses that in the wars which led to the dismemberment of the kingdom, the Poles were more often fighting for the preservation of their aristocratic privileges than for national liberty. The Polish poet Julius Slowacki (b. 1809, d. 1851), styled by Nickiewicz the "Satan of Poetry," speaking in the name of the people, thus addressed the poet Sigismund Krasinski:

> "To believe thee, son of the nobleman,
> It were virtue in us to endure slavery."

And Slowacki himself was of gentle birth. Certes, sounder notions as to Polish patriotism prevail in this generation than were current in former times, but we still hear too much about the "crime" of the partition of Poland. The same reasons which led to that partition are the only justification for our present interference in Turkey.'

Page 259, § 650. *Baron Stein.—Add:* 'The generally-accepted statement is that Stein founded, or was one of the founders of, the *Tugendbund;* but the first idea of it was suggested by Henry Bardeleben, whom Stein declared to be patriotic, but short-sighted. Historians say that Stein was a friend and protector of the Union, but in his correspondence we find passages like the following:—"If there are well-meaning persons who are pleased to belong to secret societies, why should we quarrel with such weakness? . . . The Union of Virtue, founded in 1812, is respectable because of its good intentions, but hitherto it has done no work; it is very angry with the French, but its anger appears to me like the anger of dreaming sheep." And of Jahn, whom it was proposed to introduce to him, he said: "Don't let the grotesque (*fratzenhaften*) fellow come near me." And yet Jahn, as is well known, and as our text partially shows, rendered great service to the German people.

Curiously enough another Baron Stein, who cannot be identified, though he is described in the journals of the day (1781 to 1788) as Privy Councillor to the Count Palatine of Cologne, travelled about Suabia and the Lower Rhine, inviting people of rank to join a secret society, presenting them with leaden medals of Pope Pius VI., and promising to get them installed Knights of the Papal Order of the Golden Spur. Stein called his Order that of Jesus Christ. Under the pretence of writing a topographical work on Suabia, he endeavoured to make useful acquaintances and obtain influence, but failed; the journals of the day pronounced his Order to be somewhat of a swindle, and it collapsed in consequence.'

Page 260, § 651. *Tugendbund.*—'It was partly owing to these dissensions that what is called the rising of Germany to expel the French resulted in the end merely in the formation of a Free Corps, which with all his efforts Lützow could only bring up to a strength of three thousand combatants. There was really no spontaneous rising, though there were isolated instances of national enthusiasm and individual bravery. The King of Prussia, to whom Scharnhorst had proposed the appeal to the loyalty and patriotism of his people, had so little faith in either, that for a long time he refused the appeal to be made, but

when, during his stay at Breslau, eighty waggons full of volunteers made their appearance, his faith in his subjects was restored, and he wept tears of joy! The king was grateful for small mercies.'

Page 278, § 666. *Fenians: Origin of Name.—Add:* 'It is a curious coincidence—if mere coincidence it be, and not the result of a connection etymologically traceable with the tribe of Benjamin (19)—that in French Romane the word *Fenian* should mean "idle," "lazy," an epithet which is justly applicable to the bulk of the members of that Irish association. I here merely throw out a hint; the question deserves following up.'

Since writing my summary of Fenianism, I have perused Mr. John O'Leary's recently-published 'Recollections of Fenians and Fenianism.' The work is disappointing. It contains no revelations such as one might expect from a man deeply initiated into all the secrets of Fenianism. All we gather from it is that the association, at least the English branch of it, was always in want of funds, and that it never had any great chance of wresting Ireland from the grasp of England. Yet the author ends with these words, published only a few months ago, and which therefore deserve attention: 'But that spirit [longing for freedom] is not dead . . . but merely sleepeth; and if there be men still in Ireland, and, still more, boys growing into men, willing to strive and struggle and sacrifice, if needs be, liberty or life for Ireland, to Fenianism more than to aught else is that spirit and feeling due.'

In my list of 'Authorities Consulted,' John Rutherford's 'Secret History of the Fenian Conspiracy' is included. Mr. O'Leary's opinion of this book is as follows: 'This is one horrible libel from beginning to end, and seems to be compiled altogether out of the reports of the various State trials, of the American Conventions, and a narrative of John O'Mahony's. All these were easily accessible sources, and there was nothing in the least "secret" about them. This "History" is . . . as vile a book as I have ever read. John Rutherford is, of course, a false name, and I cannot make out that any one can give even a probable guess at the ruffian who used it.' And of course, also, Mr. O'Leary writes as a partisan—of the other side.

Page 299, § 702. *Human Leopards.—Add:* 'The leopards are said to worship an idol called Boofima, which is occasionally lent to friendly tribes for divination or incantation, and the members of the society derive their name from their custom of plunging three-pronged forks, or sharp-pointed cutting-knives, shaped like claws, and fixed in thick gloves they wear, into the bodies of the persons they attack. How curiously Boofima reminds one of Baphomet!' (204)

'We may add that the West coast of Africa abounds with so-called secret societies, into which boys and girls are initiated when ten or twelve years of age; but as their aims are trivial, their rites absurd or hideous, they intrinsically possess but little interest, though relatively they deserve attention, as showing the universally-diffused longing of man after mystery, and the readiness of medicine-men, shamans, bonzes, marabouts, priests, and mystery-mongers of all sorts, to minister to that longing.'

Page 301, § 705. *Indian (North American) Societies.—Add:* 'Manabozko, according to the Indian legend, was a person of miraculous birth, who came to teach the Red men how to clear the forest, to sow their fields with grain, to read and write. He was known among the different

tribes by the several names of Michabou, Chiabo, Tarenyawagon, and among the Ojibways on the southern shore of Lake Superior as Hiawatha, under which name he is familiar to Europeans through Longfellow's "Indian Edda" bearing that title. The Iroquois worshipped him under his original name of Manabozko. Chibiabos, his friend, was a musician, the ruler of the Land of Spirits, or of Light, the Indian Apollo. In Indian folk-lore Hiawatha is a very different person from the hero of the poem. In the prose tales of the Red men he is a notorious liar, a cruel and treacherous destroyer of all he can get into his power.'

Page 105. *P.S.*—French and English journals of the 20th and 21st April 1897 have published to the world the fact that the tale of Diana Vaughan and her diabolic marriage, and the book of the mythical Dr. Bataille, were pure mystification by M. Léo Taxil, the reported convert to Roman Catholic orthodoxy, having no foundation whatever in reality. The public, the priests, the cardinals, yea, the pope himself, were taken in by them—and they got no more than they deserved. It was, no doubt, one of the finest and grandest hoaxes of this century, and says but little in favour of our intellectual progress that it should be possible in our day. If its revelation will teach superstitious people a lesson, they may in future be saved from the charge of rendering themselves supremely ridiculous.

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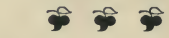

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